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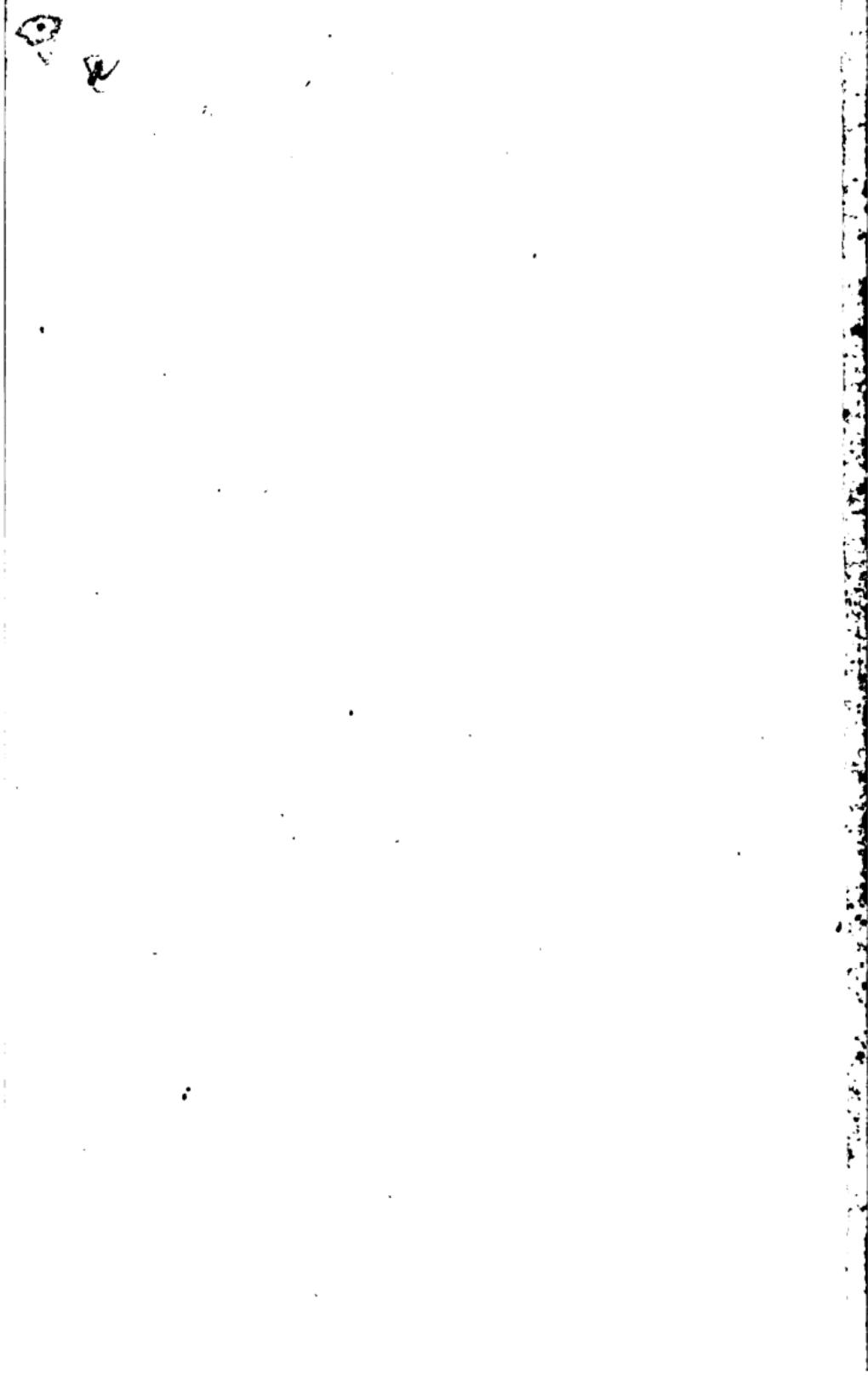
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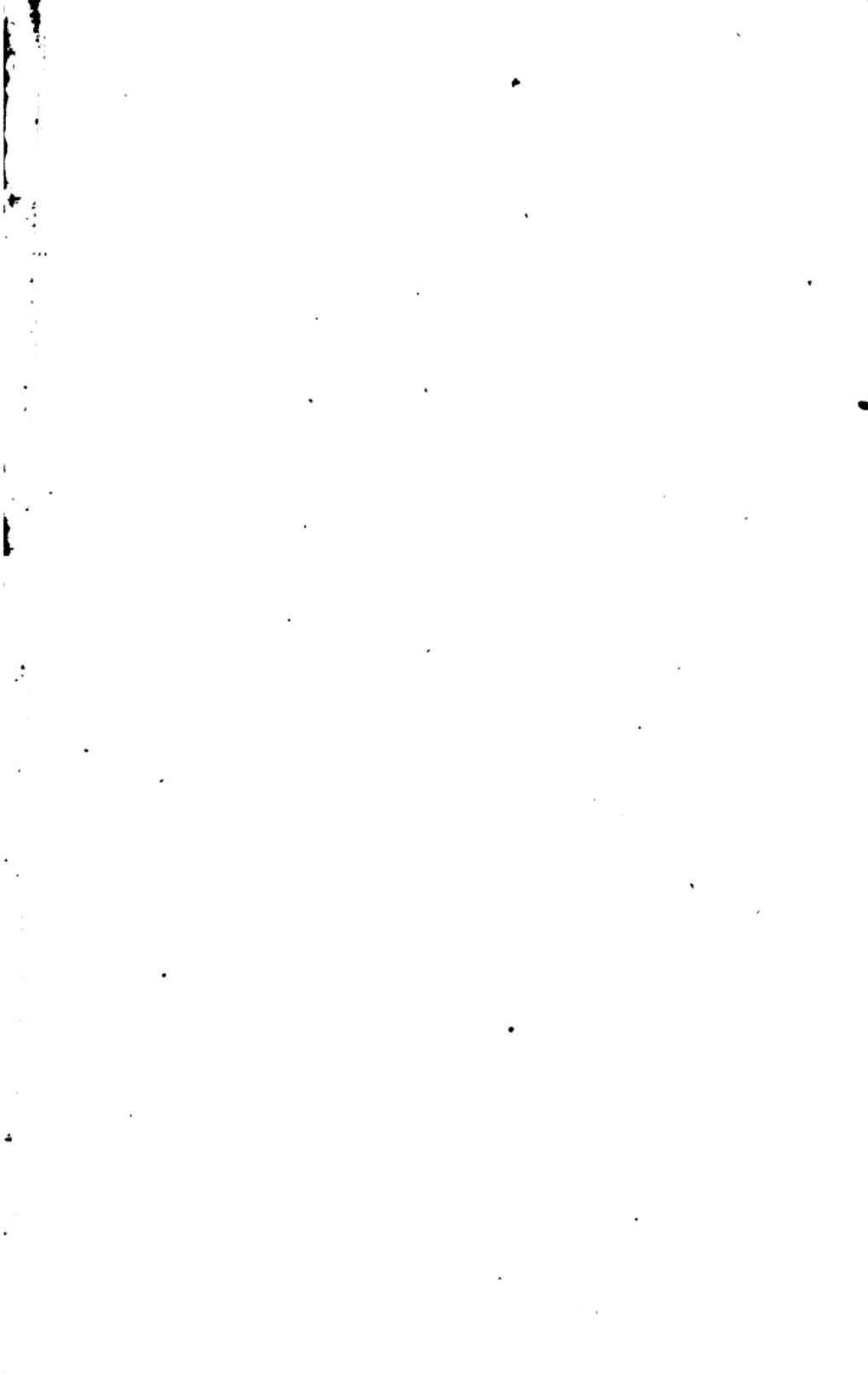


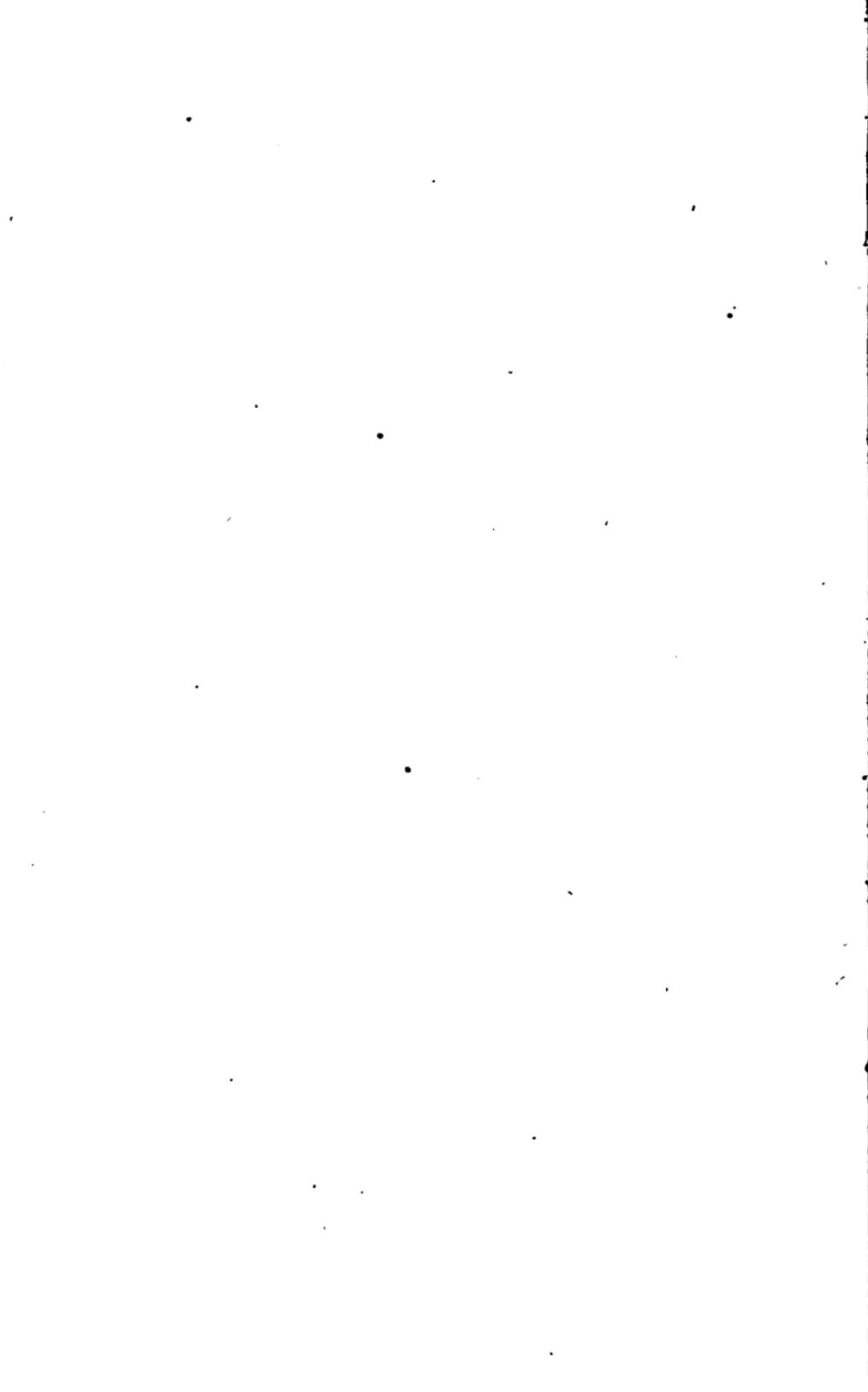
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THE
LIVES
OF
DR. JOHN DONNE, SIR HENRY WOTTON,
MR. RICHARD HOOKER,
MR. GEORGE HERBERT,
AND
DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

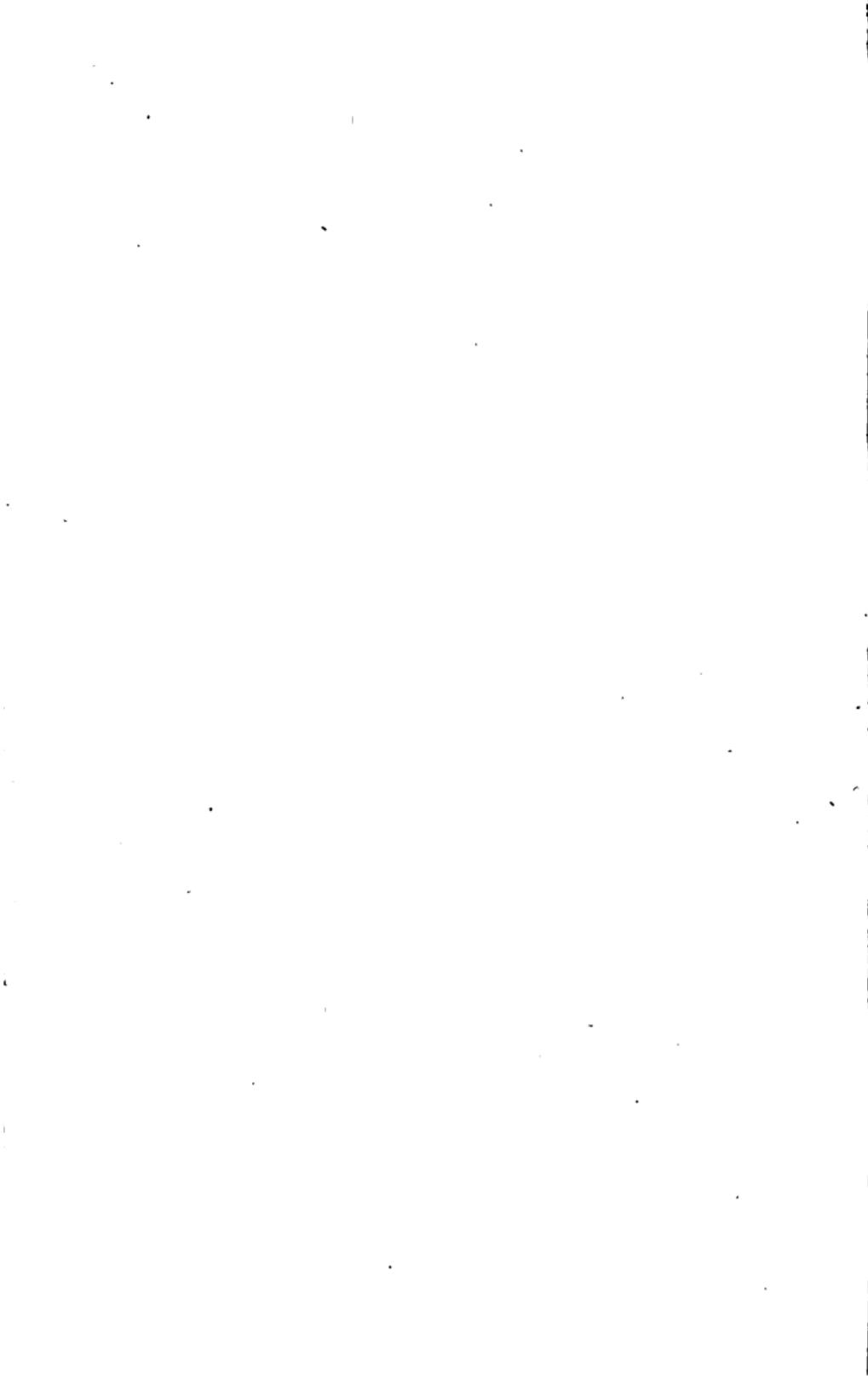
WRITTEN BY IZAAK WALTON.

"These were honoured men in their generations."
Ecclius. xliv. 7.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. I.

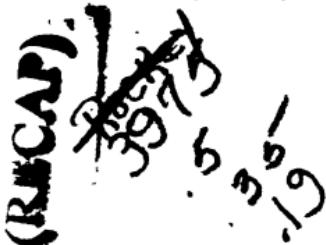
OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.
1805.



TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
AND REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
GEORGE,
LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,
AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE
ORDER OF THE GARTER.

MY LORD,

I DID, some years past, present you with a plain relation of the life of Mr. Richard Hooker, that humble man, to whose memory princes, and the most learned of this nation, have paid a reverence at the mention of his name. And now, with Mr. Hooker's, I present you also the Life of that pattern of primitive piety, Mr George Herbert; and, with his, the Life of Dr.



Donne, and your friend Sir Henry Wotton, all reprinted^a. The two first were written under your roof ; for which reason, if they were worth it, you might justly challenge a Dedication : and indeed, so you might of Dr. Donne's, and Sir Henry Wotton's ; because, if I had been fit for this undertaking, it would not have been by acquired learning or study, but by the advantage of forty years friendship, and thereby with hearing and discoursing with your Lordship, that hath enabled me to make the relation of these lives passable (if they prove so) in an eloquent and captious age.

And indeed, my Lord, though these relations be well-meant sacrifices to the memory of these worthy men ; yet I have so little confidence in my performance, that I beg pardon for superscribing your name to them ; and desire all that know

^a The Life of Bishop Sanderson was not then written.

your

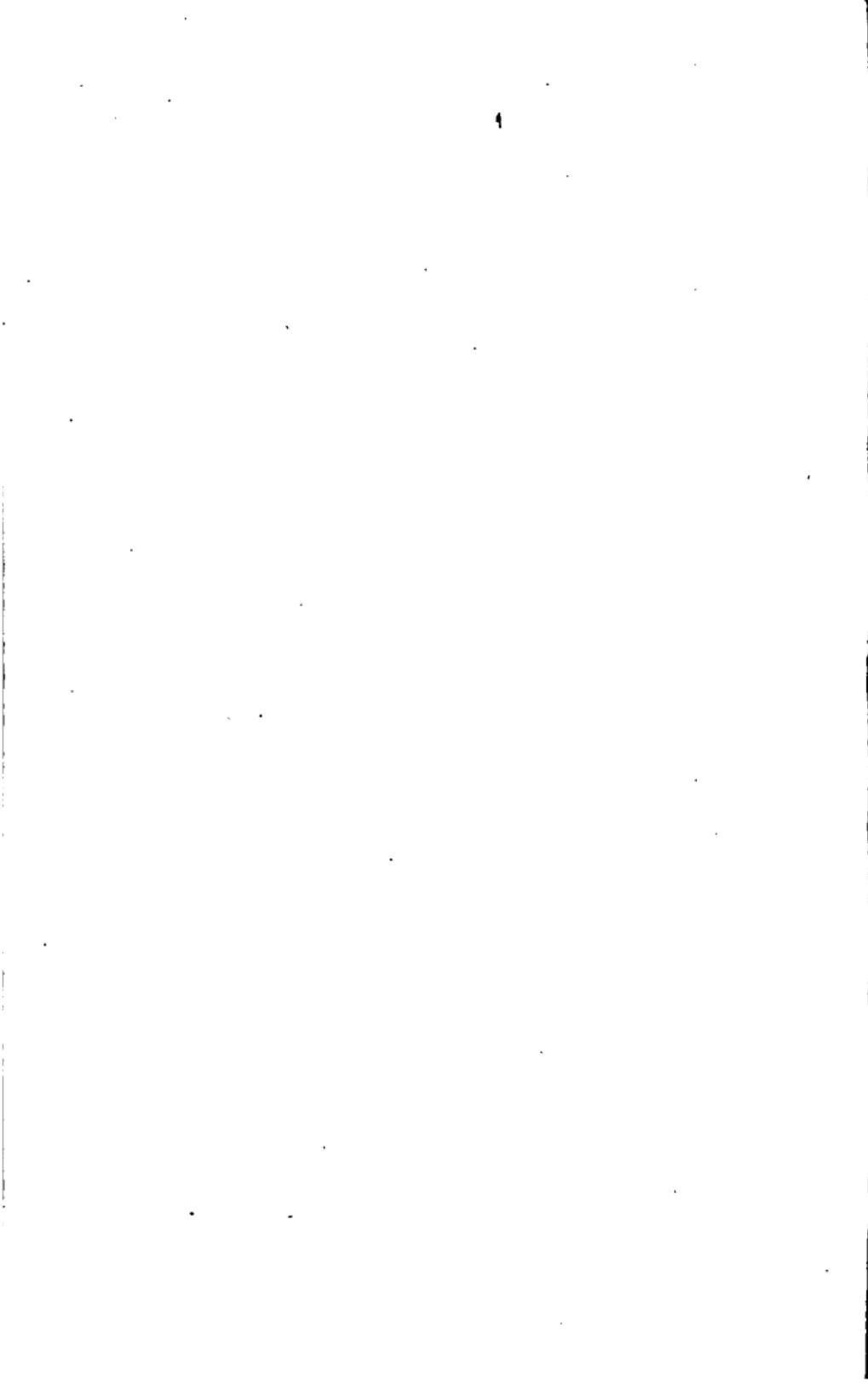
your Lordship, to apprehend this not as a Dedication, (at least, by which you receive any addition of honour,) but rather as an humble and a more public acknowledgment of your long continued and your now daily favours to,

My Lord,

Your most affectionate

And most humble servant,

IZAAK WALTON.



TO THE READER.

THOUGH the several introductions to these several Lives have partly declared the reasons how, and why I undertook them ; yet since they are come to be reviewed, and augmented, and reprinted, and the four are now become one book ; I desire leave to inform you that shall become my reader, that when I sometime look back upon my education and mean abilities, it is not without some little wonder at myself, that I am come to be publicly in print. And though I have in those introductions declared some of the accidental reasons that occasioned me to be so, yet let me add this to what is there said ; that by my undertaking to collect some notes for Sir Henry Wotton's writing the Life of Dr. Donne, and by Sir Henry's dying before he performed it, I became like those men that enter easily into a law-suit, or a quarrel, and having begun, cannot make a fair retreat and be quiet,

quiet, when they desire it.—And really, after such a manner, I became engaged into a necessity of writing the Life of Dr. Donne, contrary to my first intentions ; and that begot a like necessity of writing the Life of his and my ever-honoured friend, Sir Henry Wotton.

And having writ these two Lives, I lay quiet twenty years, without a thought of either troubling myself or others, by any new engagement in this kind ; for I thought I knew my unfitness. But, about that time, Dr. Gauden (then Lord Bishop of Exeter) published the Life of Mr. Richard Hooker, (so he called it,) with so many dangerous mistakes, both of him and his books, that discoursing of them with his Grace, Gilbert, that now is Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, he enjoined me to examine some circumstances, and then rectify the Bishop's mistakes, by giving the world a fuller and a truer account of Mr. Hooker and his books, than that Bishop had done ; and I know I have done so. And let me tell the reader, that till his Grace had laid this injunction upon me, I could not admit
a thought

a thought of any fitness in me to undertake it: but when he had twice enjoined me to it, I then declined my own, and trusted his judgment, and submitted to his commands; concluding, that, if I did not, I could not forbear accusing myself of disobedience, and indeed of ingratitude for his many favours. Thus I became engaged into the third Life.

For the Life of that great example of holiness, Mr. George Herbert, I profess it to be so far a free-will offering, that it was writ chiefly to please myself; but yet not without some respect to posterity: for though he was not a man that the next age can forget; yet many of his particular acts and virtues might have been neglected, or lost, if I had not collected and presented them to the imitation of those that shall succeed us; for I humbly conceive writing to be both a safer and truer preserver of men's virtuous actions than tradition, especially as it is managed in this age. And I am also to tell the reader, that though this Life of Mr. Herbert was not by me writ in haste, yet I intended it
a review,

a review, before it should be made public : but that was not allowed me, by reason of my absence from London when it was printing : so that the reader may find in it some mistakes, some double expreffions, and some not very proper, and some that might have been contracted, and some faults that are not justly chargeable upon me, but the printer ; and yet I hope none so great, as may not by this confession purchase pardon from a good-natured reader.

And now I wish that as that learned Jew, Josephus, and others, so these men had also writ their own lives : but fince it is not the fashion of these times, I wish their relations or friends would do it for them, before delays make it too difficult. And I desire this the more, because it is an honour due to the dead, and a generous debt due to those that shall live, and succeed us, and would to them prove both a content and satisfaction. For when the next age shall (as this does) admire the learning and clear reason which that excellent casuist, Doctor Sanderson, (the late Bishop of

of Lincoln,) hath demonstrated in his Sermons and other writings; who, if they love virtue, would not rejoice to know that this good man was as remarkable for the meekness and innocence of his life, as for his great and useful learning; and indeed as remarkable for his fortitude in his long and patient suffering (under them that then called themselves the godly party) for that doctrine, which he had preached and printed in the happy days of the nation's and the Church's peace? And who would not be content to have the like account of Dr. Field, that great schoolman, and others of noted learning? And though I cannot hope that my example or reason can persuade to this undertaking, yet I please myself, that I shall conclude my Preface with wishing that it were so.

J. W.



THE COPY OF A LETTER WRIT TO

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

BY

DR. KING,

LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

HONEST IZAAK,

THOUGH a familiarity of more than forty years continuance, and the constant experience of your love, even in the worst of the late sad times, be sufficient to endear our friendship; yet I must confess my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private respect to many that know and love you, but by your new demonstration of a public spirit, testified in a diligent, true, and useful collection of so many material passages as you have now afforded me in the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker; of which, since desired by such a friend as yourself, I shall not deny to give the testimony of what I know concerning him and his learned

learned books : but shall first here take a fair occasion to tell you, that you have been happy in chooising to write the Lives of three such persons; as posterity hath just cause to honour ; which they will do the more for the true relation of them by your happy pen : of all which I shall give you my unfeigned censure.

I shall begin with my most dear and incomparable friend Dr. Donne, late Dean of St. Paul's church, who not only trusted me as his executor, but three days before his death delivered into my hands those excellent Sermons of his, now made public; professing before Dr. Winniff, Dr. Monford, and, I think, yourself then present at his bed-side, that it was by my restless importunity, that he had prepared them for the pres: together with which (as his best legacy) he gave me all his sermon-notes, and his other papers, containing an extract of near fifteen hundred authors. How these were got out of my hands, you, who were the messenger for them, and how lost both to me and yourself, is not now seasonable to complain. But since
they

they did miscarry, I am glad that the general demonstration of his worth was so fairly preserved, and represented to the world by your pen in the history of his life ; indeed so well, that, beside others, the best critic of our later time (Mr. John Hales, of Eaton College) affirmed to me, “ he had not seen a life written with more advantage to the subject, or more reputation to the writer, than that of Dr. Donne’s.”

After the performance of this task for Dr. Donne, you undertook the like office for our friend Sir Henry Wotton : betwixt which two there was a friendship begun in Oxford, continued in their various travels, and more confirmed in the religious friendship of age ; and doubtless this excellent person had writ the Life of Dr. Donne, if death had not prevented him : by which means, his and your pre-collections for that work fell to the happy manage of your pen : a work which you would have declined, if imperious persuasions had not been stronger than your modest resolutions against it. And I am

thus far glad, that the first Life was so imposed upon you, because it gave an unavoidable cause of writing the second : if not, it is too probable we had wanted both ; which had been a prejudice to all lovers of honour and ingenious learning. And let me not leave my friend Sir Henry without this testimony added to yours ; that he was a man of as florid a wit, and as elegant a pen, as any former (or ours, which in that kind is a most excellent) age hath ever produced.

And now, having made this voluntary observation of our two deceased friends, I proceed to satisfy your desire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. Hooker, who was *Scismaticorum malleus*, so great a champion for the Church of England's rights, against the factious torrent of Separatists that then ran high against church-discipline ; and in his unanswerable Books continues to be so against the unquiet disciples of their schism, which now, under other names, still carry on their design ; and who (as the proper heirs of their irrational zeal) would

would again rake into the scarce closed wounds of a newly bleeding State and Church.

And first, though I dare not say that I knew Mr. Hooker ; yet as our ecclesiastical history reports to the honour of St. Ignatius, “ that he lived in the time of St. John, and had seen him in his childhood ; ” so I also joy that in my minority I have often seen Mr. Hooker with my father, who was after Bishop of London ; from whom, and others, at that time, I have heard most of the material passages which you relate in the history of his life ; and from my father received such a character of his learning, humility, and other virtues, that, like jewels of unvaluable price, they still cast such a lustre, as envy or the rust of time shall never darken.

From my father I have also heard all the circumstances of the plot to defame him ; and how Sir Edwin Sandys outwitted his accusers, and gained their confession : and I could give an account of each particular of that plot, but that I judge it

fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the same grave with the malicious authors.

I may not omit to declare, that my father's knowledge of Mr. Hooker was occasioned by the learned Dr. John Spencer, who, after the death of Mr. Hooker, was so careful to preserve his unvaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth books of *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi College, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers ; many of which were imperfect ; for his study had been rifled, or worse used, by Mr. Chark, and another, of principles too like his. But these papers were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend Dr. Spencer, who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father ; after whose death they rested in my hand, till Dr. Abbot, then Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, by authorizing Dr. John Barkeham to require, and bring them to him to his palace in Lambeth : at which time, I have heard,
they

they were put into the Bishop's library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of Archbishop Laud ; and were then by the brethren of that faction given, with all the library, to Hugh Peters, as a reward for his remarkable service in those sad times of the Church's confusion. And though they could hardly fall into a souler hand ; yet there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them speak that language, for which the faction then fought, which indeed was, *to subject the sovereign power to the people.*

But I need not strive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular : his known loyalty to his Prince whilst he lived, the sorrow expressed by King James at his death, the value our late Sovereign (of ever-blessed memory) put upon his works, and now the singular character of his worth by you given in the passages of his Life, especially in your Appendix to it, do sufficiently clear him from that imputation : and I am glad you mention how much value Thomas Stapleton, Pope Clement the Eighth, and other eminent men
of

of the Romish persuasion, have put upon his books ; having been told the same in my youth by persons of worth that have travelled Italy.

Lastly, I must again congratulate this undertaking of yours, as now more proper to you than any other person, by reason of your long knowledge and alliance to the worthy family of the Cranmers, (my old friends also,) who have been men of noted wisdom ; especially Mr. George Cranmer, whose prudence, added to that of Sir Edwin Sandys, proved very useful in the completing of Mr. Hooker's matchless books : one of their letters I herewith send you, to make use of, if you think fit. And let me say further, you merit much from many of Mr. Hooker's best friends then living ; namely, from the ever renowned Archbishop Whitgift, of whose incomparable worth, with the character of the times, you have given us a more short and significant account than I have received from any other pen. You have done much for the learned Sir Henry Savile, his contemporary and familiar friend ; amongst

amongst the surviving monuments of whose learning (give me leave to tell you so) two are omitted ; his edition of *Euclid*, but especially his translation of *King James's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, into elegant Latin : which flying in that dress as far as Rome, was by the Pope and Conclave sent to Salamanca unto Franciscus Suarez, (then residing there as President of that college), with a command to answer it. And it is worth noting, that when he had perfected the work, which he calls *Defensio Fidei Catbolicæ*, it was transmitted to Rome for a view of the Inquisitors ; who, according to their custom, blotted out what they pleased, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been used since his death) added whatsoever might advance the Pope's supremacy, or carry on their own interest ; commonly coupling together *deponere et occidere*, the deposing and then killing of princes. Which cruel and unchristian language Mr. John Saltkel, the amanuensis to Suarez, when he wrote that answer, (but since a convert, and living long in my father's house,) often professed
the

xxiv LETTER TO MR. WALTON.

the good old man (whose piety and charity Mr. Saltkel magnified much) not only disavowed, but detested. Not to trouble you further; your reader (if, according to your desire, my approbation of your work carries any weight) will here find many just reasons to thank you for it; and possibly for this circumstance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who heartily wishes your happiness, and is unfeignedly,

SIR,

Your ever-faithful and
affectionate old friend,

HENRY CHICHESTER.

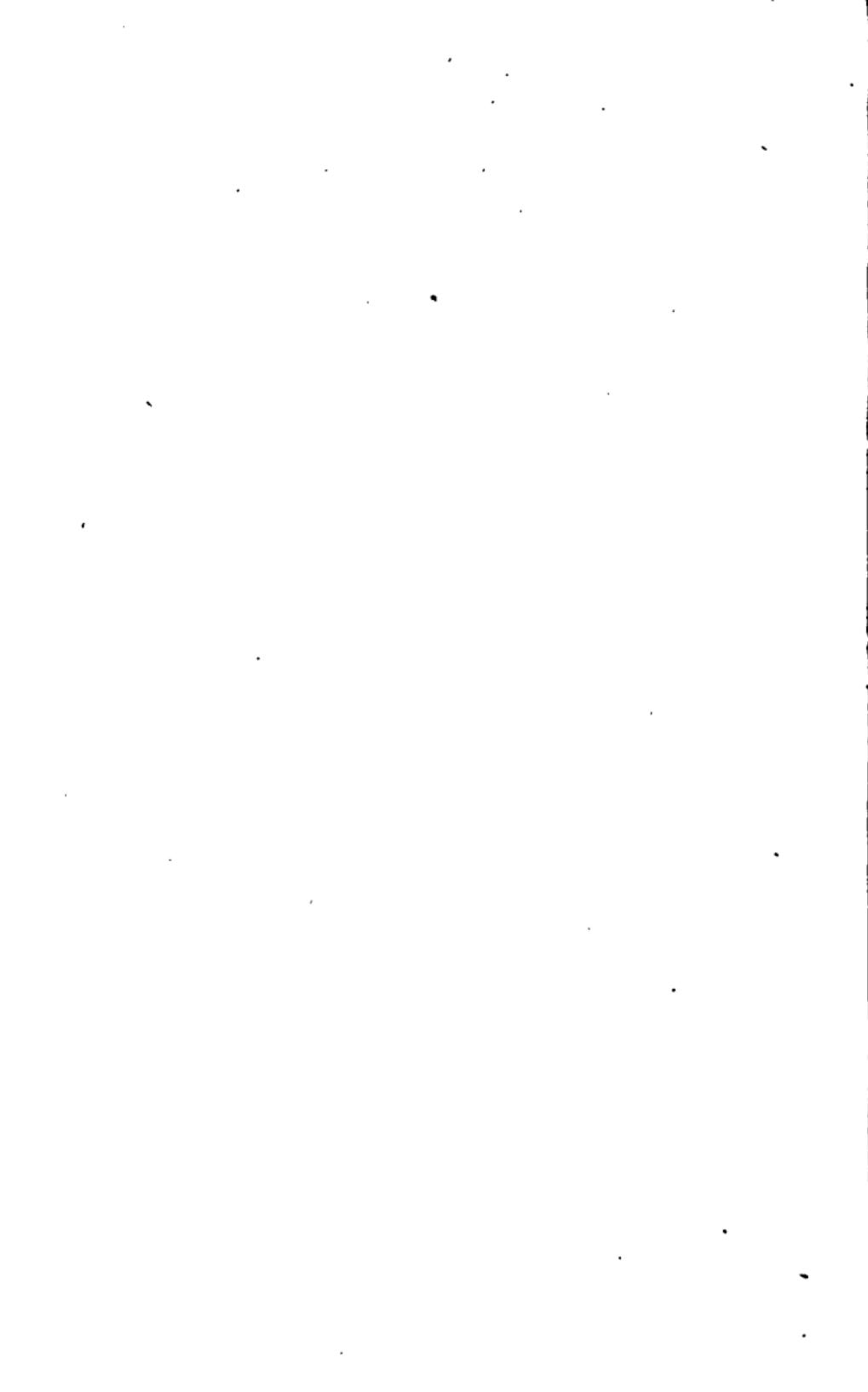
CHICHESTER,
Nov. 17, 1664.

THE

THE LIFE
OF
DR. JOHN DONNE,
LATE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH,
LONDON.

VOL. I.

B



THE INTRODUCTION.

IF that great master of language and art, Sir Henry Wotton, the late Provost of Eton College, had lived to see the publication of these Sermons, he had presented the world with the Author's life exactly written ; and it was pity he did not, for it was a work worthy his undertaking, and he fit to undertake it : betwixt whom and the Author there was so mutual a knowledge, and such a friendship contracted in their youth, as nothing but death could force a separation. And though their bodies were divided, their affections were not ; for that learned Knight's love followed his friend's fame beyond death and the forgetful grave ; which he testified by entreating me, whom he acquainted with his design, to enquire of some particulars that concerned it, not doubting but my

knowledge of the Author, and love to his memory, might make my diligence useful. I did most gladly undertake the employment, and continued it with great content, till I had made my collection ready to be augmented and completed by his matchless pen: but then death prevented his intentions.

When I heard that sad news, and heard also that these Sermons were to be printed, and want the Author's life, which I thought to be very remarkable; indignation or grief (indeed I know not which) transported me so far, that I reviewed my forsaken collections, and resolved the world should see the best plain picture of the Author's life that my artless pencil, guided by the hand of truth, could present to it.

And if I shall now be demanded, as once Pompey's poor bond-man was *,— (the grateful wretch had been left alone on the sea-shore, with the forsaken dead body of his once glorious lord and master; and was then gathering the scattered

* Plutarch.

pieces

pieces of an old broken boat to make a funeral pile to burn it; which was the custom of the Romans) — “ Who art thou, that alone hast the honour to bury the body of Pompey the great ? ” so, who am I, that do thus officiously set the Author’s memory on fire ? I hope the question will prove to have in it more of wonder than disdain. But wonder indeed the reader may, that I, who profess myself artless, should presume with my faint light to shew forth his life, whose very name makes it illustrious ! But be this to the disadvantage of the person represented : certain I am, it is to the advantage of the beholder, who shall here see the Author’s picture in a natural dress, which ought to beget faith in what is spoken : for he that wants skill to deceive, may safely be trusted.

And if the Author’s glorious spirit, which now is in heaven, can have the leisure to look down and see me, the poorest, the meanest of all his friends, in the midst of his officious duty, confident I am, that he will not disdain this well-

meant sacrifice to his memory: for, whilst his conversation made me and many others happy below, I know his humility and gentleness were then eminent; and, I have heard Divines say, those virtues, that were but sparks upon earth, become great and glorious flames in heaven.

Before I proceed further, I am to entreat the reader to take notice, that when Dr. Donne's Sermons were first printed, this was then my excuse for daring to write his life; and I dare not now appear without it.

THE LIFE.

MASTER John Donne was born in London, in the year 1573, of good and virtuous parents: and though his own learning and other multiplied merits may justly appear sufficient to dignify both himself and his posterity, yet the reader may be pleased to know, that his father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very ancient family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that deserve and have great reputation in that country.

By his mother he was descended of the family of the famous and learned Sir Thomas Moor, sometime Lord Chancellor of England; as also from that worthy and laborious Judge Raftall, who left posterity the vast statutes of the law of this nation most exactly abridged.

He had his first breeding in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care

of him, until the tenth year of his age ; and in his eleventh year was sent to the University of Oxford ; having at that time a good command both of the French and Latin tongue. This, and some other of his remarkable abilities, made one then give this censure of him ; “ That this “ age had brought forth another Picus “ Mirandula ; ” of whom story says, “ That “ he was rather born, than made wise by “ study.”

There he remained for some years in Hart-Hall, having, for the advancement of his studies, tutors of several sciences to attend and instruct him, till time made him capable, and his learning expressed in public exercises declared him worthy, to receive his first degree in the schools, which he forbore by advice from his friends, who being for their religion of the Romish persuasion, were conscientiously averse to some parts of the oath that is always tendered at those times, and not to be refused by those that expect the titulary honour of their studies.

About the fourteenth year of his age
he

he was transplanted from Oxford to Cambridge ; where, that he might receive nourishment from both soils, he staid till his seventeenth year ; all which time he was a most laborious student, often changing his studies, but endeavouring to take no degree, for the reasons formerly mentioned.

About the seventeenth year of his age he was removed to London, and then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, with an intent to study the law ; where he gave great testimonies of his wit, his learning, and of his improvement in that profession ; which never served him for other use than an ornament and self-satisfaction.

His father died before his admission into this society, and, being a merchant, left him his portion in money. (It was 3000l.) His mother, and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him tutors both in the mathematics, and in all the other liberal sciences, to attend him. But with these arts they were advised to instil into him particular

cular principles of the Romish Church ; of which those tutors professed, though secretly, themselves to be members.

They had almost obliged him to their faith ; having for their advantage, besides many opportunities, the example of his dear and pious parents, which was a most powerful persuasion, and did work much upon him, as he professeth in his preface to his Pseudo-Martyr, a book of which the reader shall have some account in what follows.

He was now entered into the eighteenth year of his age ; and at that time had betrothed himself to no religion, that might give him any other denomination than a Christian. And reason and piety had both persuaded him, that there could be no such sin as Schism, if an adherence to some visible church were not necessary.

About the nineteenth year of his age, he being then unresolved what religion to adhere to, and considering how much it concerned his soul to choose the most orthodox, did therefore, (though his youth

youth and health promised him a long life) to rectify all scruples that might concern that, presently lay aside all study of the law, and of all other sciences that might give him a denomination ; and began seriously to survey and consider the body of divinity, as it was then controverted betwixt the Reformed and the Roman Church. And as God's blessed Spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him, (they be his own words*) so he calls the same holy Spirit to witness this protestation ; that in that disquisition and search he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself, and by that which he took to be the safest way ; namely, frequent prayers, and an indifferent affection to both parties ; and indeed, truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an enquirer ; and he had too much ingenuity, not to acknowledge he had found her.

Being to undertake this search, he be-

* In his Preface to Pseudo-Martyr.

lieved

lieved the Cardinal Bellarmine to be the best defender of the Roman cause, and therefore betook himself to the examination of his reasons. The cause was weighty, and wilful delays had been inexcusable both towards God and his own conscience : he therefore proceeded in this search with all moderate haste, and about the twentieth year of his age did shew the then Dean of Gloucester (whose name my memory hath now lost) all the Cardinal's works marked with many weighty observations under his own hand ; which works were bequeathed by him, at his death, as a legacy to a most dear friend.

About a year following he resolved to travel ; and the Earl of Essex going first the Cales, and after the Island voyages, the first anno 1596, the second 1597, he took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his Lordship, and was an eye-witness of those happy and unhappy employments.

But he returned not back into England, till he had staid some years first in Italy, and

and then in Spain, where he made many useful observations of those countries, their laws and manner of government, and returned perfect in their languages.

The time that he spent in Spain was, at his first going into Italy, designed for travelling to the Holy Land, and for viewing Jerusalem and the sepulchre of our Saviour. But at his being in the furthest parts of Italy, the disappointment of company, or of a safe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into those remote parts, denied him that happiness, which he did often occasionally mention with a deploration.

Not long after his return into England, that exemplary pattern of gravity and wisdom, the Lord Elsemore, then Keeper of the Great Seal, and Lord Chancellor of England, taking notice of his learning, languages, and other abilities, and much affecting his person and behaviour, took him to be his chief secretary ; supposing and intending it to be an introduction to some more weighty employment in
the

the state ; for which his Lordship did often protest he thought him very fit.

Nor did his Lordship, in this time of Master Donne's attendance upon him, account him to be so much his servant, as to forget he was his friend ; and, to testify it, did always use him with much courtesy, appointing him a place at his own table, to which he esteemed his company and discourse to be a great ornament.

He continued that employment for the space of five years, being daily useful, and not mercenary to his friends. During which time he (I dare not say unhappily) fell into such a liking, as, with her approbation, increased into a love with a young gentlewoman that lived in that family, who was niece to the Lady Elsfemore, and daughter to Sir George Moor, then Chancellor of the Garter and Lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir George had some intimation of it, and knowing prevention to be a great part of wisdom, did therefore remove
her

her with much haste from that to his own house at Lothesley, in the county of Surry ; but too late, by reason of some faithful promises which were so interchangeably passed, as never to be violated by either party.

These promises were only known to themselves : and the friends of both parties used much diligence, and many arguments, to kill or cool their affections to each other : but in vain ; for love is a flattering mischief, that hath denied aged and wise men a foresight of those evils that too often prove to be the children of that blind father, a passion ; that carries us to commit errors with as much ease as whirlwinds remove feathers, and begets in us an unwearied industry to the attainment of what we desire. And such an industry did, notwithstanding much watchfulness against it, bring them secretly together, (I forbear to tell the manner how) and at last to a marriage too, without the allowance of those friends, whose approbation always was, and ever will be, necessary,

cessary, to make even a virtuous love become lawful.

And that the knowledge of their marriage might not fall, like an unexpected tempest, on those that were unwilling to have it so, and that pre-apprehensions might make it the less enormous when it was known, it was purposely whispered into the ears of many that it was so, yet by none that could affirm it. But, to put a period to the jealousies of Sir George, (doubt often begetting more restless thoughts than the certain knowledge of what we fear) the news was, in favour to Mr. Donne, and with his allowance, made known to Sir George, by his honourable friend and neighbour Henry Earl of Northumberland: but it was to Sir George so immeasurably unwelcome, and so transported him, that, as though his passion of anger and inconsideration might exceed theirs of love and error, he presently engaged his sister, the Lady Elsfemore, to join with him to procure her lord to discharge Mr. Donne of the place he held under his lordship.

This

This request was followed with violence; and though Sir George were remembered, that errors might be overpunished, and desired therefore to forbear till second considerations might clear some scruples; yet he became restless until his suit was granted, and the punishment executed. And though the Lord Chancellor did not, at Mr. Donne's dismission, give him such a commendation as the great Emperor Charles the Fifth did of his secretary Eraso, when he presented him to his son and successor, Philip the Second, saying, "That in his Eraso "he gave to him a greater gift than all "his estate, and all the kingdoms which "he then resigned to him:" yet the Lord Chancellor said, "He parted with "a friend, and such a secretary as was "fitter to serve a king than a subject."

Immediately after his dismission from his service, he sent a sad letter to his wife, to acquaint her with it: and after the subscription of his name, writ,

John Donne, Anne Donne, Un-done;
And God knows it proved too true: for
VOL. I. C this

this bitter physic of Mr. Donne's dismission was not strong enough to purge out all Sir George's choler ; for he was not satisfied till Mr. Donne and his sometime compupil in Cambridge, that married him, namely, Samuel Brook (who was after Doctor in Divinity, and Master of Trinity College) and his brother Mr. Christopher Brook, sometime Mr. Donne's chamber-fellow in Lincoln's Inn, who gave Mr. Donne his wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed to three several prisons.

Mr. Donne was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body or brain, nor to any friend in whom he might hope to have an interest, until he had procured an enlargement for his two imprisoned friends.

He was now at liberty, but his days were still cloudy ; and being past these troubles, others did still multiply upon him ; for his wife was (to her extreme sorrow) detained from him ; and though with Jacob he endured not an hard service for her, yet he lost a good one, and was forced to make good his title, and
to

to get possession of her by a long and restless suit in law; which proved troublesome and sadly chargeable to him, whose youth, and travel, and needless bounty, had brought his estate into a narrow compass.

It is observed, and most truly, that silence and submission are charming qualities, and work most upon passionate men; and it proved so with Sir George; for these, and a general report of Mr. Donne's merits, together with his winning behaviour, (which, when it would entice, had a strange kind of elegant irresistible art;) these and time had so dispassionated Sir George, that as the world had approved his daughter's choice, so he also could not but see a more than ordinary merit in his new son; and this at last melted him into so much remorse, (for love and anger are so like agues, as to have hot and cold fits; and love in parents, though it may be quenched, yet is easily rekindled, and expires not till death denies mankind a natural heat,) that he laboured his son's restoration to his place; using

to that end both his own and his sister's power to her lord ; but with no success ; for his answer was, " That though he " was unfeignedly sorry for what he had " done, yet it was inconsistent with his " place and credit, to discharge and re- " admit servants at the request of pa- " sionate petitioners."

Sir George's endeavour for Mr. Donne's readmission was by all means to be kept secret :—(for men do more naturally reluct for errors, than submit to put on those blemishes that attend their visible acknowledgment.)—But however it was not long before Sir George appeared to be so far reconciled, as to wish their happiness, and not to deny them his paternal blessing, but yet refused to contribute any means that might conduce to their livelihood.

Mr. Donne's estate was the greatest part spent in many and chargeable travels, books, and dear-bought experience : he out of all employment that might yield a support for himself and wife, who had been curiously and plentifully educated ;

educated ; both their natures generous, and accustomed to confer, and not to receive, courtesies : these and other considerations, but chiefly that his wife was to bear a part in his sufferings, surrounded him with many sad thoughts, and some apparent apprehensions of want.

But his sorrows were lessened and his wants prevented by the seasonable courtesy of their noble kinsman, Sir Francis Wolly, of Pirford in Surry, who intreated them to a cohabitation with him ; where they remained with much freedom to themselves, and equal content to him, for some years ; and as their charge increased (she had yearly a child), so did his love and bounty.

It hath been observed by wise and considering men, that wealth hath seldom been the portion, and never the mark to discover good people ; but that Almighty God, who disposeth all things wisely, hath of his abundant goodness denied it (he only knows why) to many, whose minds he hath enriched with the greater blessings of knowledge and virtue, as the

fairer testimonies of his love to mankind : and this was the present condition of this man of so excellent erudition and endowments ; whose necessary and daily expences were hardly reconcileable with his uncertain and narrow estate. Which I mention, for that at this time there was a most generous offer made him for the moderating of his worldly cares ; the declaration of which shall be the next employment of my pen.

God hath been so good to his church, as to afford it in every age some such men to serve at, his altar as have been piously ambitious of doing good to mankind ; a disposition, that is so like to God himself, that it owes itself only to him, who takes a pleasure to behold it in his creatures. These times * he did bless with many such ; some of which still live to be patterns of apostolical charity, and of more than human patience. I have said this, because I have occasion to mention one of them in my following

* Anno 1608.

discourse ;

discourse ; namely, Dr. Morton, the most laborious and learned Bishop of Durham ; one, that God hath blessed with perfect intellectuals and a cheerful heart at the age of 94 years (and is yet living); one, that in his days of plenty had so large a heart, as to use his large revenue to the encouragement of learning and virtue, and is now (be it spoken with sorrow) reduced to a narrow estate, which he embraces without repining ; and still shews the beauty of his mind by so liberal a hand, as if this were an age in which to-morrow were to care for itself. I have taken a pleasure in giving the reader a short but true character of this good man, my friend, from whom I received this following relation.—He sent to Mr. Donne, and intreated to borrow an hour of his time for a conference the next day. After their meeting, there was not many minutes passed before he spake to Mr. Donne to this purpose : “ Mr. Donne, “ the occasion of sending for you is to pro-“ pose to you what I have often revolved “ in my own thought since I last saw

“ you : which nevertheless I will not declare but upon this condition, that you shall not return me a present answer, “ but forbear three days, and bestow some part of that time in fasting and prayer ; “ and after a serious consideration of what I shall propose, then return to me with your answer. Deny me not, Mr. Donne ; “ for it is the effect of a true love, which I would gladly pay as a debt due for yours to me.”

This request being granted, the Doctor expressed himself thus :

“ Mr. Donne, I know your education and abilities ; I know your expectation of a state-employment; and I know your fitness for it ; and I know too the many delays and contingencies that attend court-promises: and let me tell you, that my love, begot by our long friendship and your merits, hath prompted me to such an inquisition after your present temporal estate, as makes me no stranger to your necessities ; which I know to be such as your generous spirit could not bear,

“ if

“ if it were not supported with a pious
“ patience. You know I have formerly
“ persuaded you to wave your court-
“ hopes, and enter into holy orders ;
“ which I now again persuade you to
“ embrace, with this reason added to
“ my former request : The King hath
“ yesterday made me Dean of Gloucester,
“ and I am also possessed of a benefice,
“ the profits of which are equal to thofe
“ of my Deanery. I will think my Deanery
“ enough for my maintenance, (who am
“ and resolve to die a single man) and will
“ quit my benefice, and estate you in
“ it, (which the Patron is willing I shall
“ do) if God shall incline your heart to
“ embrace this motion. Remember, Mr.
“ Donne, no man’s education or parts
“ make him too good for this employ-
“ ment, *which is to be an ambassador*
“ *for the God of glory, that God, who by a*
“ *vile death opened the gates of life to man-*
“ *kind.* Make me no present answer ; but
“ remember your promise, and return to
“ me the third day with your resolution.”

At the hearing of this, Mr. Donne’s
faint

faint breath and perplexed countenance gave a visible testimony of an inward conflict: but he performed his promise, and departed without returning an answer till the third day, and then his answer was to this effect:

“ My most worthy and most dear friend,
“ since I saw you I have been faithful to
“ my promise, and have also meditated
“ much of your great kindness, which
“ hath been such as would exceed even
“ my gratitude; but that it cannot do;
“ and more I cannot return you; and I
“ do that with an heart full of humility
“ and thanks, though I may not accept
“ of your offer: but, Sir, my refusal is
“ not for that I think myself too good
“ for that calling, for which kings, if
“ they think so, are not good enough:
“ nor for that my education and learn-
“ ing, though not eminent, may not, be-
“ ing assisted with God’s grace and hu-
“ mility, render me in some measure fit
“ for it: but I dare make so dear a
“ friend as you are my confessor: some
“ irregularities of my life have been so
“ visible

“ visible to some men, that though I have,
“ I thank God, made my peace with him
“ by penitential resolutions against them,
“ and by the assistance of his grace banish-
“ ed them my affections; yet this, which
“ God knows to be so, is not so visible
“ to man, as to free me from their cen-
“ sures, and it may be that sacred calling
“ from a dishonour. And besides, whereas
“ it is determined by the best of Casuists,
“ that *God's glory should be the first end,*
“ *and a maintenance the second motive to*
“ *embrace that calling;* and though each
“ man may propose to himself both to-
“ gether; yet the first may not be put
“ last without a violation of conscience,
“ which he that searches the heart will
“ judge. And truly my present condi-
“ tion is such, that if I ask my own con-
“ science, whether it be reconcileable to
“ that rule, it is at this time so perplexed
“ about it, that I can neither give myself
“ nor you an answer. You know, Sir, who
“ says, *Happy is that man whose conscience*
“ *doth not accuse him for that thing which he*
“ *does.* To these I might add other rea-
“ sons

" sons that dissuade me : but I crave
" your favour that I may forbear to ex-
" press them, and thankfully decline your
" offer."

This was his present resolution : but the heart of man is not in his own keeping ; and he was destined to this sacred service by an higher hand ; a hand so powerful, as at last forced him to a compliance : of which I shall give the reader an account before I shall give a rest to my pen.

Mr. Donne and his wife continued with Sir Francis Wolly till his death : a little before which time, Sir Francis was so happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt Sir George and his forsaken son and daughter ; Sir George conditioning by bond to pay to Mr. Donne 800l. at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20l. quarterly for their maintenance, as the interest for it, till the said portion was paid.

Most of those years that he lived with Sir Francis, he studied the Civil and Canon Laws ; in which he acquired such a per-

a perfection, as was judged to hold proportion with many who had made that study the employment of their whole life.

Sir Francis being dead, and that happy family dissolved, Mr. Donne took for himself a house in Micham, (near to Croydon in Surry) a place noted for good air and choice company: there his wife and children remained; and for himself he took lodgings in London, near to White-Hall, whither his friends and occasions drew him very often, and where he was as often visited by many of the nobility and others of this nation, who used him in their counsels of greatest consideration, and with some rewards for his better subsistence.

Nor did our own nobility only value and favour him, but his acquaintance and friendship was sought for by most ambassadors of foreign nations, and by many other strangers, whose learning or business occasioned their stay in this nation.

He was much importuned by many friends to make his constant residence in
London;

London ; but he still denied it, having settled his dear wife and children at Mitcham, and near some friends that were bountiful to them and him ; for they, God knows, needed it : and that you may the better now judge of the then present condition of his mind and fortune, I shall present you with an extract collected out of some few of his many letters.

“—And the reason why I did not send an answer to your last week’s letter was, because it then found me under too great a sadness ; and at present it is thus with me. There is not one person, but myself, well of my family : I have already lost half a child, and with that mischance of hers, my wife is fallen into such a discomposure, as would afflict her too extremely, but that the fickleness of all her other children stupifies her : of one of which, in good faith, I have not much hope : and these meet with a fortune so ill provided for physic, and such relief, that if God should ease us with burials,

.“ I know

“ I know not how to perform even that :
“ but I flatter myself with this hope,
“ that I am dying too; for I cannot waste
“ faster than by such griefs. As for,—

“ From my hospital at Micham,
Aug. 10. “ JOHN DONNE.”

Thus he did bemoan himself: and thus
in other letters.

“ —For we hardly discover a sin,
“ when it is but an omission of some
“ good, and no accusing act: with this,
“ or the former, I have often suspected
“ myself to be overtaken; which is, with
“ an over-earnest desire of the next life.
“ And though I know it is not mere-
“ ly a weariness of this, because I had
“ the same desire when I went with the
“ tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes than I
“ now do; yet I doubt worldly troubles
“ have increased it. It is now spring, and
“ all the pleasures of it displease me;
“ every other tree blossoms, and I wi-
“ ther: I grow older, and not better;
“ my strength diminisheth, and my load
“ grows heavier; and yet I would fain
“ be

“ be or do something; but that I cannot
“ tell what, is no wonder in this time of
“ my sadness; for to choose is to do; but
“ to be no part of any body is as to be no-
“ thing: and so I am, and shall so judge
“ myself, unless I could be so incorpo-
“ rated into a part of the world, as by
“ busines to contribute some sustentation
“ to the whole. This I made account;
“ I began early, when I understood the
“ study of our laws; but was diverted by
“ leaving that, and embracing the worst
“ voluptuousness, *an hydroptique immo-*
“ derate desire of human learning and lan-
“ guages: beautiful ornaments indeed to
“ men of great fortunes; but mine was
“ grown so low as to need an occupation;
“ which I thought I entered well into,
“ when I subjected myself to such a ser-
“ vice as I thought might exercise my
“ poor abilities: and there I stumbled, and
“ fell too; and now I am become so little,
“ or such a nothing, that I am not a sub-
“ ject good enough for one of my own
“ letters.—Sir, I fear my present discon-
“ tent does not proceed from a good root,
“ that

“ that I am so well content to be no-
“ thing, that is, dead. But, Sir, though
“ my fortune hath made me such, as that
“ I am rather a fickness or a disease of
“ the world, than any part of it, and
“ therefore neither love it, nor life ; yet I
“ would gladly live to become some such
“ thing as you should not repent loving
“ me. Sir, your own soul cannot be
“ more zealous for your good, than I
“ am ; and God, who loves that zeal in
“ me, will not suffer you to doubt it.
“ You would pity me now, if you saw
“ me write, for my pain hath drawn
“ my head so much awry, and holds it
“ so, that my eye cannot follow my pen.
“ I therefore receive you into my prayers
“ with mine own weary soul, and com-
“ mend myself to yours. I doubt not
“ but next week will bring you good
“ news, for I have either mending or
“ dying on my side : but if I do con-
“ tinue longer thus, I shall have comfort
“ in this, that my blessed Saviour in ex-
“ ercising his justice upon my two world-
“ ly parts, my fortune and my body, re-

“ serves all his mercy for that which
“ most needs it, my soul ; which is, I
“ doubt, too like a porter, that is very
“ often near the gate, and yet goes not
“ out. Sir, I profess to you truly, that
“ my loathness to give over writing now
“ seems to myself a sign that I shall write
“ no more.

“ Your poor friend, and

Sept. 7. “ God’s poor patient,

JOHN DONNE.”

By this you have seen a part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind ; and thus it continued with him for about two years, all which time his family remained constantly at Micham ; and to which place he often retired himself, and destined some days to a constant study of some points of controversy betwixt the English and Roman Church, and especially those of supremacy and allegiance : and to that place and such studies he could willingly have wedded himself during his life ; but the earnest persuasion of friends

friends became at last to be so powerful, as to cause the removal of himself and family to London, where Sir Robert Drewry, a gentleman of a very noble estate, and a more liberal mind, assigned him and his wife an useful apartment in his own large house in Drewry-lane, and not only rent free, but was also a cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathized with him and his in all their joy and sorrows.

At this time of Mr. Donne's and his wife's living in Sir Robert's house, the Lord Hay was by King James sent upon a glorious embassy to the then French King, Henry the Fourth; and Sir Robert put on a sudden resolution to accompany him to the French court, and to be present at his audience there. And Sir Robert put on as sudden a resolution to subject Mr. Donne to be his companion in that journey. And this desire was suddenly made known to his wife, who was then with child, and otherwise under so dangerous a habit of body, as to her health, that she professed an unwillingness to allow him any absence from her; saying,

ing, *Her divining soul boded her some ill in his absence*; and therefore desired him not to leave her. This made Mr. Donne lay aside all thoughts of the journey, and really to resolve against it. But Sir Robert became restless in his persuasions for it, and Mr. Donne was so generous as to think he had sold his liberty, when he received so many charitable kindnesses from him; and told his wife so; who did therefore with an unwilling willingness give a faint consent to the journey, which was proposed to be but for two months; for about that time they determined their return. Within a few days after this resolve, the Ambassador, Sir Robert, and Mr. Donne left London, and were the twelfth day got all safe to Paris. Two days after their arrival there, Mr. Donne was left alone in that room, in which Sir Robert, and he, and some other friends had dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned within half an hour; and as he left, so he found, Mr. Donne alone; but in such an ecstasy, and so altered as to his looks, as amazed Sir Robert

bert to behold him; insomuch that he earnestly desired Mr. Donne to declare what had befallen him in the short time of his absence. To which Mr. Donne was not able to make a present answer: but, after a long and perplexed pause, did at last say, “I have seen a dreadful “vision fince I saw you: I have seen my “dear wife pass twice by me through “this room, with her hair hanging about “her shoulders, and a dead child in her “arms: this I have seen since I saw “you.” To which Sir Robert replied, “Sure, sir, you have slept since I saw “you; and this is the result of some me-“lancholy dream, which I desire you to “forget, for you are now awake.” To which Mr. Donne’s reply was, “I can-“not be surer that I now live, than that “I have not slept since I saw you: and I “am as sure, that at her second appear-“ing she stopped, and looked me in the “face, and vanished.”—Rest and sleep had not altered Mr. Donne’s opinion the next day; for he then affirmed this vision with a more deliberate, and so con-

firmed a confidence, that he inclined Sir Robert to a faint belief that the vision was true.—It is truly said, that desire and doubt have no rest; and it proved so with Sir Robert; for he immediately sent a servant to Drewry-house, with a charge to hasten back, and bring him word, whether Mrs. Donne were alive; and, if alive, in what condition she was as to her health.—The twelfth day the messenger returned with this account—That he found and left Mrs. Donne very sad, and sick in her bed; and that, after a long and dangerous labour, she had been delivered of a dead child. And, upon examination, the abortion proved to be the same day, and about the very hour, that Mr. Donne affirmed he saw her pass by him in his chamber.

This is a relation that will beget some wonder; and it well may, for most of our world are at present possessed with an opinion that visions and miracles are ceased. And though it is most certain, that two lutes being both strung and tuned to an equal pitch, and then one played upon,

upon, the other, that is not touched, being laid upon a table at a fit distance, will (like an echo to a trumpet) warble a faint audible harmony in answer to the same tune ; yet many will not believe there is any such thing as a sympathy of souls : and I am well pleased, that every reader do enjoy his own opinion. But if the unbelieving will not allow the believing reader of this story a liberty to believe that it may be true, then I wish him to consider, many wise men have believed that the ghost of Julius Cæsar did appear to Brutus, and that both St. Austin and Monica his mother had visions in order to his conversion. And though these and many others (too many to name) have but the authority of human story, yet the incredible reader may find in the sacred story^a, that Samuel did appear to Saul even after his death (whether really or not, I undertake not to determine). And Bildad, in the Book of Job, says these words^b; “ A “ spirit passed before my face ; the hair of

^a 1 Sam. xxviii.^b Job iv.

" my head stood up: fear and trembling
" came upon me, and made all my bones
" to shake." Upon which words I will
make no comment, but leave them to be
confidered by the incredulous reader; to
whom I will also commend this follow-
ing confideration: that there be many
pious and learned men, that believe our
merciful God hath affigned to every man
a particular guardian angel, to be his con-
stant monitor, and to attend him in all
his dangers, both of body and soul. And
the opinion that every man hath his par-
ticular angel may gain some authority,
by the relation of St. Peter's miraculous
deliverance out of prison ^a, not by many,
but by one angel. And this belief may
yet gain more credit, by the reader's con-
fidering that when Peter after his enlarge-
ment knocked at the door of Mary the
mother of John, and Rode the maid-ser-
vant, being surprised with joy that Peter
was there, did not let him in, but ran in
haste, and told the Disciples (who were

^a Acts xii.

then

then and there met together) that Peter was at the door ; and they, not believing it, said she was mad ; yet when she again affirmed it, though they then believed it not, yet they concluded, and said, *It is his angel.*

More observations of this nature, and inferences from them, might be made to gain the relation a firmer belief : but I forbear, lest I, that intended to be but a relator, may be thought to be an engaged person for the proving what was related to me ; and yet I think myself bound to declare, that though it was not told me by Mr. Donne himself, it was told me (now long since) by a person of honour, and of such intimacy with him, that he knew more of the secrets of his soul, than any person then living : and I think he told me the truth ; for it was told with such circumstances, and such asseveration, that (to say nothing of my own thoughts) I verily believe he that told it me did himself believe it to be true.

I forbear the reader's farther trouble, as to the relation, and what concerns it ;
and

and will conclude mine with commanding to his view a copy of verses given by Mr. Donne to his wife at the time that he then parted from her. And I beg leave to tell, that I have heard some critics, learned both in languages and poetry, say, that none of the Greek or Latin poets did ever equal them.

A VALEDICTION,
FORBIDDING TO MOURN.

AS virtuous men pass mildly away,
And whisper to their souls to go,
Whilst some of their sad friends do say,
The breath goes now, and some say no :

So let us melt, and make no noise ;
No wind-sighs or tear-floods us move ;
'Twere profanation of our joys,
To tell the laity our love.

Movings of th' earth cause harms and fears ;
Men reckon what they did or meant :
But trepidation of the spheres,
Though greater far, is innocent.

Dull sublunary lovers' love
(Whose soul is sense) cannot admit
Absence ; because that doth remove
Those things that clemented it.

But

But we, by a soul so much refin'd,
That our souls know not what it is,
Inter-assured of the mind,
Care not hands, eyes, or lips to mifs.

Our two souls therefore, which are one,
Though I must go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
Like gold to airy thinness beat.

If we be two? we are two so
As if twin-compasses are two:
Thy soul, the fixt foot, makes no show
To move, but does if th'other do.

And though thine in the center sit,
Yet, when my other far does roam,
Thine leans and hearkens after it,
And grows erect as mine comes home.

Such thou must be to me, who must,
Like th'other foot, obliquely run:
Thy firmness makes my circle just,
And me to end where I begun.

I return from my account of the vision,
to tell the reader, that both before Mr.
Donne's going into France, at his being
there, and after his return, many of the
nobility, and others that were powerful
at court, were watchful and solicitous to
the King for some secular employment
for him. The King had formerly both
known

known and put a value upon his company, and had also given him some hopes of a state-employment ; being always much pleased when Mr. Donne attended him, especially at his meals, where there were usually many deep discourses of general learning, and very often friendly disputes or debates of religion betwixt his Majesty and those divines, whose places required their attendance on him at those times ; particularly the Dean of the chapel, who then was Bishop Montague (the publisher of the learned and eloquent works of his Majesty) and the most reverend Doctor Andrews, the late learned Bishop of Winchester, who was then the King's Almoner.

About this time there grew many disputes, that concerned the oath of supremacy and allegiance, in which the King had appeared, and engaged himself by his public writings now extant : and his Majesty discoursing with Mr. Donne, concerning many of the reasons which are usually urged against the taking of those oaths, apprehended such a validity and clearness

clearness in his stating the questions, and his answers to them, that his Majesty commanded him to bestow some time in drawing the arguments into a method, and then to write his answers to them ; and, having done that, not to send, but be his own messenger, and bring them to him. To this he presently and diligently applied himself, and within six weeks brought them to him under his own hand-writing, as they be now printed; the book bearing the name of “Pseudo-“Martyr,” printed anno 1610.

When the King had read and considered that book, he persuaded Mr. Donne to enter into the ministry; to which at that time he was, and appeared, very unwilling, apprehending it (such was his mistaken modesty) to be too weighty for his abilities : and though his Majesty had promised him a favour, and many persons of worth mediated with his Majesty for some secular employment for him, (to which his education had apted him) and particularly the Earl of Somerset, when in his greatest height of favour; who being

ing then at Theobald's with the King, where one of the clerks of the council died that night, the Earl posted a messenger for Mr. Donne to come to him immediately, and at Mr. Donne's coming, said, “Mr. Donne, to testify the reality
“of my affection, and my purpose to pre-
“fer you, stay in this garden till I go
“up to the King, and bring you word
“that you are clerk of the council.
“Doubt not my doing this, for I know
“the King loves you, and know the
“King will not deny me.” But the King
gave a positive denial to all requests, and,
having a discerning spirit, replied, “I
“know Mr. Donne is a learned man,
“has the abilities of a learned divine,
“and will prove a powerful preacher;
“and my desire is to prefer him that
“way, and in that way I will deny
“you nothing for him.” After that time,
as he professeth^a, “the King descended
“to a persuasion, almost to a solicitation,
“of him to enter into sacred orders:”

* In his Book of Devotions.

which

which though he then denied not, yet he deferred it for almost three years. All which time he applied himself to an incessant study of textual Divinity, and to the attainment of a greater perfection in the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew.

In the first and most blessed times of Christianity, when the Clergy were looked upon with reverence, and deserved it, when they overcame their opposers by high examples of virtue, by a blessed patience and long suffering ; those only were then judged worthy the ministry, whose quiet and meek spirits did make them look upon that sacred calling with an humble adoration and fear to undertake it ; which indeed requires such great degrees of humility, and labour, and care, that none but such were then thought worthy of that celestial dignity ; and such only were then sought out, and solicited to undertake it. This I have mentioned, because forwardness and inconsideration could not in Mr. Donne, as in many others, be an argument of insufficiency or unfitness ; for he

he had considered long, and had many strifes within himself concerning the strictness of life and competency of learning required in such as enter into sacred orders; and doubtless, considering his own demerits, did humbly ask God with St. Paul, "Lord, who is sufficient for these things?" and with meek Moses, "Lord, "who am I?" And sure if he had consulted with flesh and blood, he had not for these reasons put his hand to that holy plough. But God, who is able to prevail, wrestled with him, as the Angel did with Jacob, *and marked him*; marked him for his own; marked him with a blessing, a blessing of obedience to the motions of his blessed Spirit. And then, as he had formerly asked God with Moses, "Who "am I?" so now, being inspired with an apprehension of God's particular mercy to him, in the King's and others solicitations of him, he came to ask King David's thankful question, "Lord, who am I; that "thou art so mindful of me?" so mindful of me, as to lead me for more than forty years through this wilderness of the many tempta-

temptations and various turnings of a dangerous life ; so merciful to me, as to move the learnedest of kings to descend to move me to serve at the altar ; so merciful to me, as at last to move my heart to embrace this holy motion. Thy motions I will and do embrace : and I now say with the blessed Virgin, “ Be it with “ thy servant as seemeth best in thy sight : ” and so, blessed Jesus, I do take the cup of salvation, and will call upon thy name, and will preach thy Gospel.

Such strifes as these St. Austin had, when St. Ambrose endeavoured his conversion to Christianity ; with which he confesseth he acquainted his friend Alipius. Our learned author (a man fit to write after no mean copy) did the like. And declaring his intentions to his dear friend Dr. King, then Bishop of London, a man famous in his generation, and no stranger to Mr. Donne’s abilities, (for he had been chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, at the time of Mr. Donne’s being his Lordship’s secretary;) that reverend man did receive the news with much

gladness ; and after some expreſſions of joy, and a persuasion to be conſtant in his pious purpoſe, he proceeded with all convenient ſpeed to ordain him firſt deacon, and then priest not long after.

Now the English Church had gained a ſecond St. Austin, for I think none was ſo like him before his conveṛſion ; none ſo like St. Ambroſe after it : and if his youth had the infirmities of the one, his age had the excellencies of the other ; the learning and holineſs of both.

And now all his ſtudies, which had been occaſionally diſſufed, were all con-centred in Divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts, and a new em-ployment for his wit and eloquence. Now all his earthly affections were changed into divine love ; and all the faculties of his own ſoul were engaged in the con-veṛſion of others ; in preaching the glad tidings of remiſſion to repen-ting finners, and peace to each troubled ſoul. To these he applied himſelf with all care and di-ligence : and now ſuch a change was wrought in him, that he could ſay with David,

David, "O how amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord God of Hosts!" Now he declared openly, that "when he required "a temporal, God gave him a spiritual "blessing." And that "he was now "gladder to be a door-keeper in the house "of God, than he could be to enjoy the "noblest of all temporal employments."

Presently after he entered into his holy profession, the King sent for him, and made him his chaplain in ordinary, and promised to take a particular care for his preferment.

And though his long familiarity with scholars and persons of greatest quality was such, as might have given some men boldness enough to have preached to any eminent auditory; yet his modesty in this employment was such, that he could not be persuaded to it, but went usually accompanied with some one friend to preach privately in some village, not far from London; his first sermon being preached at Paddington. This he did, till his Majesty sent and appointed him a day to preach to him at Whitehall; and though

much was expected from him, both by his Majesty and others, yet he was so happy (which few are) as to satisfy and exceed their expectations ; preaching the word so, as shewed his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distil into others : a preacher in earnest ; weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them ; always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud, but in none ; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives : here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practised it, and a virtue so as to make it beloved even by those that loved it not ; and all this with a most particular grace and an inexpressible addition of comeliness.

There may be some that may incline to think (such indeed as have not heard him) that my affection to my friend hath transported me to an immoderate commendation of his preaching. If this meets with any such, let me entreat, though I will

will omit many, yet that they will receive a double witness for what I say ; it being attested by a gentleman of worth, (Mr. Chidley, a frequent hearer of his sermons) in part of a funeral elegy writ by him on Dr. Donne ; and is a known truth, though it be in verse.

—Each altar had his fire—

He kept his love, but not his object : wit
 He did not banish, but transplanted it ;
 Taught it both time and place, and brought it home
 To piety, which it doth best become.
 For say, had ever pleasure such a dres ?
 Have you seen crimes so shap'd, or loveliness
 Such as his lips did clothe religion in ?
 Had not reproof a beauty passing sin ?
 Corrupted Nature sorrow'd that she stood
 So near the danger of becoming good.
 And when he preach'd, she wish'd her ears exempt
 From Piety, that had such pow'r to tempt.
 How did his sacred flattery beguile
 Men to amend ?—

More of this, and more witnesses, might be brought ; but I forbear and return.

That summer, in the very same month in which he entered into sacred orders, and was made the King's chaplain, his Majesty then going his progress, was entreated to

receive an entertainment in the University of Cambridge: and Mr. Donne attending his Majesty at that time, his Majesty was pleased to recommend him to the University, to be made Doctor in Divinity: Doctor Harsnett (after Archbishop of York) was then Vice-Chancellor, who, knowing him to be the author of that learned book the “Pseudo-Martyr,” required no other proof of his abilities, but proposed it to the University, who presently assented, and expressed a gladness, that they had such an occasion to entitle him to be theirs.

His abilities and industry in his profession were so eminent, and he so known and so beloved by persons of quality, that within the first year of his entering into sacred orders he had fourteen advowsons of several benefices presented to him: but they were in the country, and he could not leave his beloved London, to which place he had a natural inclination, having received both his birth and education in it, and there contracted a friendship with many, whose conversation multiplied the joys

joys of his life : but an employment that might affix him to that place would be welcome, for he needed it.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge, his wife died, leaving him a man of a narrow unsettled estate, and (having buried five) the careful father of seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance, never to bring them under the subjection of a step-mother ; which promise he kept most faithfully, burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his most dear and deserving wife's grave, and betook himself to a most retired and solitary life.

In this retiredness, which was often from the sight of his dearest friends, he became *crucified to the world*, and all those vanities, those imaginary pleasures, that are daily acted on that restless stage ; and they were as perfectly crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think (being passions may be both changed and heightened by accidents) but that that abundant affection which once was betwixt him and her, who had long been the delight of his

eyes, and the companion of his youth ; her, with whom he had divided so many pleasant sorrows and contented fears, as common people are not capable of ; not hard to think but that she being now removed by death, a commeasurable grief took as full a possession of him as joy had done ; and so indeed it did ; for now his very soul was elemented of nothing but sadness ; now grief took so full a possession of his heart, as to leave no place for joy ; if it did, it was a joy to be alone, where, like a *pelican in the wilderness*, he might bemoan himself without witness or restraint, and pour forth his passions like Job in the days of his affliction : “ Oh “ that I might have the desire of my “ heart ! Oh that God would grant the “ thing that I long for ! ” For then, *as the grave is become ber house*, so I would hasten to make it mine also ; *that we two might thbere make our beds together in the dark.* Thus, as the Israelites sat mourning by the rivers of Babylon, when they remembered Sion ; so he gave some ease to his oppressed heart by thus venting his sorrows :

rows : thus he began the day, and ended the night ; ended the restless night and began the weary day in lamentations. And thus he continued till a consideration of his new engagements to God, and St. Paul's " Wo is me, if I preach not the " Gospel," dispersed those sad clouds that had then benighted his hopes, and now forced him to behold the light.

His first motion from his house was to preach where his beloved wife lay buried, (in St. Clement's Church, near Temple-Bar, London,) and his text was a part of the Prophet Jeremy's Lamentation : " Lo, " I am the man that have seen affliction."

And indeed his very words and looks testified him to be truly such a man ; and they, with the addition of his sighs and tears, expressed in his sermon, did so work upon the affections of his hearers, as melted and moulded them into a companionable sadness ; and so they left the congregation ; but then their houses presented them with objects of diversion, and his presented him with nothing but fresh objects of sorrow, in beholding many helpless

less children, a narrow fortune, and a consideration of the many cares and casualties that attend their education.

In this time of sadness he was importuned by the grave Benchers of Lincoln's Inn (who were once the companions and friends of his youth) to accept of their lecture, which, by reason of Dr. Gataker's removal from thence, was then void ; of which he accepted, being most glad to renew his intermittent friendship with those whom he so much loved, and where he had been a Saul, (though not to persecute Christianity, or to deride it, yet in his irregular youth to neglect the visible practice of it,) there to become a Paul, and preach salvation to his beloved brethren.

And now his life was as a *shining light* among his old friends ; now he gave an ocular testimony of the strictness and regularity of it ; now he might say, as St. Paul adviseth his Corinthians, “ Be “ ye followers of me, as I follow Christ, “ and walk as ye have me for an example ; ” not the example of a busy-body, but of a con-

a contemplative, a harmless, an humble, and an holy life and conversation.

The love of that noble society was expressed to him many ways ; for, besides fair lodgings that were set apart and newly furnished for him, with all necessaries, other courtesies were also daily added ; indeed so many, and so freely, as if they meant their gratitude should exceed his merits : and in this love-strife of desert and liberality they continued for the space of two years, he preaching faithfully and constantly to them, and they liberally requiting him. About which time the Emperor of Germany died, and the Palgrave, who had lately married the Lady Elizabeth, the King's only daughter, was elected and crowned King of Bohemia, the unhappy beginning of many miseries in that nation.

King James, whose motto (*Beati pacifici*) did truly speak the very thoughts of his heart, endeavoured first to prevent, and after to compose, the discords of that discomposed state ; and, amongst other his endeavours, did then send the Lord Hay, Earl

Earl of Doncaster, his ambassador to those unsettled Princes; and, by a special command from his Majesty, Dr. Donne was appointed to assist and attend that employment to the Princes of the Union; for which the Earl was most glad, who had always put a great value on him, and taken a great pleasure in his conversation and discourse: and his friends of Lincoln's Inn were as glad; for they feared that his immoderate study, and sadness for his wife's death, would, as Jacob said, *make his days few*, and respecting his bodily health, *evil too*; and of this there were many visible signs.

At his going, he left his friends of Lincoln's Inn, and they him, with many reluctations; for though he could not say as St. Paul to his Ephesians, “Behold, “you, to whom I have preached the king-“dom of God, shall from henceforth see “my face no more;” yet he believing himself to be in a consumption, questioned, and they feared it; all concluding that his troubled mind, with the help of his unintermittent studies, hastened the decays

cays of his weak body. But God, who is the God of all wisdom and goodness, turned it to the best; for this employment (to say nothing of the event of it) did not only divert him from those too serious studies and sad thoughts, but seemed to give him a new life, by a true occasion of joy, to be an eye-witness of the health of his most dear and most honoured Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia, in a foreign nation; and to be a witness of that gladness which she expressed to see him; who, having formerly known him a courter, was much joyed to see him in a canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his excellent and powerful preaching.

About fourteen months after his departure out of England, he returned to his friends of Lincoln's Inn, with his sorrows moderated, and his health improved; and there betook himself to his constant course of preaching.

About a year after his return out of Germany, Dr. Carey was made Bishop of Exeter, and by his removal the deanery of

of St. Paul's being vacant, the King sent to Dr. Donne, and appointed him to attend him at dinner the next day. When his Majesty was sat down, before he had eat any meat, he said after his pleasant manner, "Dr. Donne, I have invited you "to dinner ; and though you sit not "down with me, yet I will carve to you "of a dish that I know you love well ; "for knowing you love London, I do "therefore make you Dean of Paul's ; "and when I have dined, then do you "take your beloved dish home to your "study, say grace there to yourself, and "much good may it do you."

Immediately after he came to his deanery, he employed workmen to repair and beautify the chapel ; suffering, as holy David once vowed, "his eyes and tem-
"ples to take no rest, till he had first
"beautified the house of God."

The next quarter following, when his father-in-law, Sir George Moor, (whom time had made a lover and admirer of him) came to pay to him the conditioned sum of twenty pounds, he refused to receive

ceive it, and said (as good Jacob did, when he heard his beloved son Joseph was alive) “*It is enough*: You have been “kind to me and mine: I know your “present condition is such as not to a-“bound, and I hope mine is or will be “such as not to need it. I will therefore “receive no more from you upon that “contract;” and in testimony of it freely gave him up his bond.

Immediately after his admission into his deanery, the vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, London, fell to him by the death of Dr. White, the advowson of it having been given to him long before by his honourable friend Richard Earl of Dorset, then the patron, and confirmed by his brother the late deceased Edward, both of them men of much honour.

By these, and another ecclesiastical endowment which fell to him about the same time, given to him formerly by the Earl of Kent, he was enabled to become charitable to the poor, and kind to his friends, and to make such provision for his children, that they were not left scandalous,

dalous, as relating to their or his profession and quality.

The next parliament, which was within that present year, he was chosen Prolocutor to the Convocation, and about that time was appointed by his Majesty, his most gracious master, to preach very many occasional sermons, as at St. Paul's Cross, and other places. All which employments he performed to the admiration of the representative body of the whole clergy of this nation.

He was once, and but once, clouded with the King's displeasure, and it was about this time; which was occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who had told his Majesty that Dr. Donne had put on the general humour of the pulpits, and was become busy in insinuating a fear of the King's inclining to Popery, and a dislike of his government; and particularly for the King's then turning the evening lectures into catechising, and expounding the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Belief, and Commandments. His Majesty was the more inclinable to believe this, for that

that a person of nobility and great note, betwixt whom and Dr. Donne there had been a great friendship, was at this very time discarded the court, (I shall forbear his name, unless I had a fairer occasion) and justly committed to prison; which begot many rumours in the common people, who in this nation think they are not wise, unless they be busy about what they understand not, and especially about religion.

The King received this news with so much discontent and restlessness, that he would not suffer the sun to set and leave him under this doubt; but sent for Dr. Donne, and required his answer to the accusation; which was so clear and satisfactory, that the King said, "he was right" "glad he rested no longer under the suspicion." When the King had said this, Dr. Donne kneeled down, and thanked his Majesty, and protested his answer was faithful, and free from all collusion, and therefore "desired that he might not rise, " till, as in like cases he always had from "God, so he might have from his Ma-

“jesty, some assurance that he stood clear
“ and fair in his opinion.” At which the
King raised him from his knees with his
own hands, and “protested he believed
“ him ; and that he knew he was an ho-
“ nest man, and doubted not but that he
“ loved him truly.” And, having thus
dismissed him, he called some lords of his
council into his chamber, and said with
much earnestness, “ My Doctor is an ho-
“ nest man ; and, my Lords, I was never
“ better satisfied with an answer than he
“ hath now made me ; and I always re-
“ joice when I think that by my means
“ he became a divine.”

He was made Dean in the fiftieth year
of his age ; and in his fifty-fourth year a
dangerous sickness seized him, which in-
clined him to a consumption : but God,
as Job thankfully acknowledged, “ pre-
“ served his spirit,” and kept his intel-
lectuals as clear and perfect, as when that
sickness first seized his body ; but it con-
tinued long, and threatened him with
death, which he dreaded not.

In this distemper of body, his dear friend,
Dr.

Dr. Henry King, (then chief Refidenciarie of that church, and late Bishop of Chichester) a man generally known by the clergy of this nation, and as generally noted for his obliging nature, visited him daily; and observing that his sickness rendered his recovery doubtful, he chose a seasonable time to speak to him to this purpose :

“ Mr. Dean, I am by your favour no
“ stranger to your temporal estate, and
“ you are no stranger to the offer lately
“ made us, for the renewing a lease of
“ the best prebend’s corps belonging to
“ our church ; and you know it was de-
“ nied, for that our tenant being very
“ rich, offered to fine at so low a rate as
“ held not proportion with his advantages:
“ but I will either raise him to an higher
“ sum, or procure that the other residen-
“ tiaries shall join to accept of what was
“ offered : one of these I can and will by
“ your favour do without delay, and with-
“ out any trouble either to your body or
“ mind. I beseech you to accept of my
“ offer, for I know it will be a considera-

“ ble addition to your present estate,
“ which I know needs it.”

To this, after a short pause, and raising himself upon his bed, he made this reply:

“ My most dear friend, I most humbly
“ thank you for your many favours, and
“ this in particular; but in my present
“ condition I shall not accept of your
“ proposal; for doubtless there is such a
“ sin as sacrilege; if there were not, it
“ could not have a name in Scripture:
“ and the primitive clergy were watchful
“ against all appearances of that evil; and
“ indeed then all Christians looked upon
“ it with horror and detestation, judging
“ it to be even an *open defiance of the power*
“ *and providence of Almighty God, and*
“ *a sad presage of a declining religion.* But
“ instead of such Christians, who had se-
“ lected times set apart to fast and pray
“ to God, for a pious clergy, which they
“ then did obey, our times abound with
“ men that are busy and litigious about
“ trifles and church-ceremonies, and yet
“ so far from scrupling sacrilege, that
“ they make not so much as a query what
“ it

“ it is : but I thank God I have ; and
“ dare not now upon my sick bed, when
“ Almighty God hath made me useleſs
“ to the service of the church, make any
“ advantages out of it. But if he shall
“ again restore me to such a degree of
“ health, as again to serve at his altar, I
“ shall then gladly take the reward which
“ the bountiful benefactors of this church
“ have designed me ; for God knows my
“ children and relations will need it : in
“ which number my mother (whose crea-
“ duity and charity has contracted a very
“ plentiful to a very narrow estate) must
“ not be forgotten. But, Dr. King, if I
“ recover not, that little worldly estate
“ that I shall leave behind me (that very
“ little, when divided into eight parts)
“ must, if you deny me not so charitable
“ a favour, fall into your hands, as my
“ most faithful friend and executor ; of
“ whose care and justice I make no more
“ doubt, than of God’s blessing on that
“ which I have conscientiously collected
“ for them ; but it shall not be augment-

" ed on my sick-bed ; and this I declare
" to be my unalterable resolution."

The reply to this was only a promise
to observe his request.

Within a few days his distempers abated ; and as his strength increased, so did his thankfulness to Almighty God, testified in his most excellent Book of Devotions, which he published at his recovery ; in which the reader may see the most secret thoughts that then possessed his soul paraphrased and made public ; a book, that may not unfitly be called a *Sacred Picture of Spiritual Ecstasies*, occasioned and applicable to the emergencies of that sickness ; which book, being a composition of meditations, disquisitions, and prayers, he writ on his sick-bed ; herein imitating the holy Patriarchs, who were wont to build their altars in that place where they had received their blessings.

This sickness brought him so near to the gates of death, and he saw the grave so ready to devour him, that he would often say, his recovery was supernatural : but

but that God that then restored his health continued it to him till the fifty-ninth year of his life; and then, in August 1630, being with his eldest daughter, Mrs. Harvey, at Abury Hatch in Essex, he there fell into a fever, which with the help of his constant infirmity (vapours from the spleen) hastened him into so visible a consumption, that his beholders might say, as St. Paul of himself, “ He dies daily;” and he might say with Job, “ My welfare “ passeth away as a cloud, the days of my “ affliction have taken hold of me, and “ weary nights are appointed for me.”

Reader, this sickness continued long, not only weakening, but wearying him so much, that my desire is, he may now take some rest; and that before I speak of his death, thou wilt not think it an impertinent digression to look back with me upon some observations of his life, which, whilst a gentle slumber gives rest to his spirits, may, I hope, not unfitly exercise thy consideration.

His marriage was the remarkable error of his life—an error, which, though he had a wit able and very apt to maintain paradoxes, yet he was very far from justifying it ; and though his wife's competent years, and other reasons, might be justly urged to moderate severe censures, yet he would occasionally condemn himself for it ; and doubtless it had been attended with an heavy repentance, if God had not blessed them with so mutual and cordial affections, as in the midst of their sufferings made their bread of sorrow taste more pleasantly than the banquets of dull and low-spirited people.

The recreations of his youth were poetry, in which he was so happy, as if Nature and all her varieties had been made only to exercise his sharp wit and high fancy ; and in those pieces which were facetiously composed and carelessly scattered (most of them being written before the twentieth year of his age) it may appear by his choice metaphors, that both Nature and all the Arts joined to assist him with their utmost skill.

It

It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing some of those pieces that had been loosely (God knows too loosely) scattered in his youth, he wished they had been abortive, or so short-lived that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals : but, though he was no friend to them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly poetry, as to forsake that ; no, not in his declining age ; witnessed then by many divine sonnets, and other high, holy, and harmonious composures : yea, even on his former sick-bed he wrote this heavenly hymn, expressing the great joy that then possessed his soul, in the assurance of God's favour to him when he composed it :

A N H Y M N
TO GOD THE FATHER.

WILT thou forgive that sin where I begun,
Which was my sin, though it were done before?
Wilt thou forgive that sin through which I run,
And do run still, though still I do deplore?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

Wilt thou forgive that sin, which I have won
Others to sin, and made my sin their door?

Wilt

Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun
A year or two, but wallow'd in a score?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore;
But swear by thyself, that at my death thy Son
Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore;
And having done that, thou hast done,
I fear no more.

I have the rather mentioned this hymn, for that he caused it to be set to a most grave and solemn tune, and to be often sung to the organ by the choristers of St. Paul's Church, in his own hearing; especially at the evening service; and at his return from his customary devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend, "The words of this hymn have restored "to me the same thoughts of joy that "possessed my soul in my sickness, when "I composed it. And, O the power of "church-music! that harmony added to "this hymn has raised the affections of "my heart, and quickened my graces of "zeal and gratitude; and I observe that "I always return from paying this pub- "lic

“ lic duty of prayer and praise to God,
“ with an unexpressible tranquillity of
“ mind, and a willingness to leave the
“ world.” .

After this manner did the disciples of our Saviour, and the best of Christians in those ages of the Church nearest to his time, offer their praises to Almighty God. And the reader of St. Augustine's life may there find, that towards his dissolution he wept abundantly, that the enemies of Christianity had broke in upon them, and profaned and ruined their sanctuaries, and because their public hymns and lauds were lost out of their churches. And after this manner have many devout souls lifted up their hands, and offered acceptable sacrifices unto Almighty God, where Dr. Donne offered his, and now lies buried.
“ But now, O Lord, how is that place
“ become desolate!”—Anno 1656.

Before I proceed further, I think fit to inform the reader, that not long before his death he caused to be drawn a figure of the body of Christ extended upon an anchor, like those which painters draw when

when they would present us with the picture of Christ crucified on the cross ; his varying no otherwise than to affix him not to a cross, but to an anchor (the emblem of hope) ; this he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of those figures thus drawn to be engraven very small in Heli-tropian stones, and set in gold ; and of these he sent to many of his dearest friends, to be used as seals, or rings, and kept as memorials of him, and of his affection to them.

His dear friends and benefactors, Sir Henry Goodier, and Sir Robert Drewry, could not be of that number ; nor could the Lady Magdalen Herbert, the mother of George Herbert, for they had put off mortality, and taken possession of the grave before him : but Sir Henry Wootton, and Dr. Hall, the then late deceased Bishop of Norwich, were ; and so were Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester (lately deceased) ; men, in whom there was such a commixture of general learning, of natural eloquence, and Christian humility, that

that they deserve a commemoration by a pen equal to their own, which none have exceeded.

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many must be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert, may not: I mean that George Herbert, who was the author of “The Temple, or Sacred Poems and Ejaculations:” a book, in which, by declaring his own spiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raised many a dejected and discomposed soul, and charmed them into sweet and quiet thoughts; a book, by the frequent reading whereof, and the assistance of that Spirit that seemed to inspire the author, the reader may attain habits of peace and piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and Heaven; and may, by still reading, still keep those sacred fires burning upon the altar of so pure a heart, as shall free it from the anxieties of this world, and keep it fixed upon things that are above. Betwixt this George Herbert and Dr. Donne there was a long and dear friendship, made up by such a sympathy of inclinations,

that

that they covetèd and joyed to be in each other's company ; and this happy friend-shíp was still maintained by many sacred endearments ; of which that which followeth may be some testimony.

TO MR. GEORGE HERBERT ;
 SENT HIM WITH ONE OF MY SEALS OF THE
 ANCHOR AND CHRIST.

A sheaf of snakes used heretofore to be my seal, which is the crest of our poor family.

Qui prius affuetus serpentum falce tabellas
 Signare, hæc nostræ symbola parva domus
 Adscitus domui domini.—

Adopted in God's family, and so
 My old coat lost, into new arms I go.
 The cross my seal in baptism spread below,
 Does by that form into an anchor grow.
 Crosses grow anchors, bear as thou shouldest do
 Thy cross, and that cross grows an anchor too.
 But he that makes our crosses anchors thus,
 Is Christ, who there is crucified for us.
 Yet with this I may my first serpents hold :
 (God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old)
 The serpent may, as wise, my pattern be ;
 My poison, as he feeds on dust, that's me.
 And, as he rounds the earth to murder, sure
 He is my death ; but on the cross my cure.
 Crucify nature then ; and then implore
 All grace from him, crucified there before.

When

When all is cross, and that cross anchor grown,
 This seal's a catechism, not a seal alone.
 Under that little seal great gifts I send,
 Both works and pray'rs, pawns and fruits of a friend.
 O may that saint that rides on our great seal,
 To you that bear his name large bounty deal.

JOHN DONNE.

IN SACRAM ANCHORAM PISCATORIS,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Quod Crux nequibat fixa clavique additi,
 Tenere Christum scilicet ne ascenderet
 Tuive Christum——

Although the cross could not Christ here detain,
 When nail'd unto't, but he ascends again ;
 Nor yet thy eloquence here keep him still,
 But only whilst thou speak'ft—this anchor will :
 Nor canst thou be content, unless thou to
 This certain anchor add a seal, and so
 The water and the earth both unto thee
 Do owe the symbol of their certainty.
 Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure,
 This holy cable's from all storms secure.

GEORGE HERBERT.

I return to tell the reader, that, besides
 these verses to his dear Mr. Herbert, and
 that hymn that I mentioned to be sung in
 the

the Quire of St. Paul's Church, he did also shorten and beguile many sad hours by composing other sacred ditties; and he writ an hymn on his death-bed, which bears this title :

AN HYMN TO GOD MY GOD,
IN MY SICKNESS, MARCH 23, 1630.

SINCE I am coming to that holy room,
Where with thy quire of saints for evermore
I shall be made thy music, as I come
I tune my instrument here at the door,
And, what I must do then, think here before.

Since my physicians by their loves are grown
Cosmographers; and I their map, who lye
Flat on this bed—

So, in his purple wrapt, receive me, Lord !
By these his thorns give me his other crown :
And, as to other souls I preach'd thy word,
Be this my text, my sermon to mine own.
“ That he may raise, therefore the Lord throws down.”

If these fall under the censure of a soul,
whose too much mixture with earth makes
it unfit to judge of these high raptures and
illuminations, let him know, that many
holy

holy and devout men have thought the soul of Prudentius to be most refined, when not many days before his death “ he charged it to present his God each “ morning and evening with a new and “ spiritual song ;” justified by the example of King David and the good King Hezekiah, who upon the renovation of his years paid his thankful vows to Almighty God in a royal hymn, which he concludes in these words ; “ The Lord “ was ready to save ; therefore I will sing “ my songs to the stringed instruments all “ the days of my life in the temple of “ my God.”

The latter part of his life may be said to be a continued study ; for as he usually preached once a week, if not oftener, so after his sermon he never gave his eyes rest, till he had chosen out a new text, and that night cast his sermon into a form, and his text into divisions ; and the next day betook himself to consult the fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent. But upon Saturday he usually gave himself and his

mind a rest from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends, or some other diversions of his thoughts; and would say, that "he gave both his body and mind "that refreshment, that he might be enabled to do the work of the day following, not faintly, but with courage and cheerfulness."

Nor was his age only so industrious, but in the most unsettled days of his youth his bed was not able to detain him beyond the hour of four in a morning; and it was no common busines that drew him out of his chamber till past ten: all which time was employed in study; though he took great liberty after it. And if this seem strange, it may gain a belief by the visible fruits of his labours; some of which remain as testimonies of what is here written; for he left the resultance of 1400 authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand: he left also fix score of his sermons, all written with his own hand; also an exact and laborious treatise concerning self-murder,

murder, called *Biathanatos*; wherein all the laws violated by that act are diligently surveyed, and judiciously censured: a treatise written in his younger days, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the civil and canon law, but in many other such studies and arguments, as enter not into the consideration of many that labour to be thought great clerks, and pretend to know all things.

Nor were these only found in his study, but all busineses that passed of any public consequence, either in this or any of our neighbour-nations, he abbreviated either in Latin, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials. So he did the copies of divers letters and cases of conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them; and divers other busineses of importance, all particularly and methodically digested by himself.

He did prepare to leave the world before life left him, making his will when no faculty of his soul was damped or made

defective by pain or sickness; or he surprised by a sudden apprehension of death; but it was made with mature deliberation, expressing himself an impartial father, by making his children's portions equal; and a lover of his friends, whom he remembered with legacies fitly and discreetly chosen and bequeathed. I cannot forbear a nomination of some of them; for me-thinks they be persons that seem to challenge a recordation in this place; as namely, to his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Grimes, he gave that striking clock, which he had long worn in his pocket; to his dear friend and executor, Dr. King, (late Bishop of Chichester) that model of gold of the Synod of Dort, with which the States presented him at his last being at the Hague; and the two pictures of Padre Paolo and Fulgentio, men of his acquaintance when he travelled Italy, and of great note in that nation for their remarkable learning.—To his ancient friend Dr. Brook, (that married him) Master of Trinity College in Cambridge, he gave the picture of the blessed Virgin and Joseph.

seph.—To Dr. Winniff (who succeeded him in the deanery) he gave a picture called the “ Skeleton.”—To the succeeding Dean, who was not then known, he gave many necessaries of worth, and useful for his house; and also several pictures and ornaments for the chapel, with a desire that they might be registered, and remain as a legacy to his successors.—To the Earls of Dorset and Carlisle he gave several pictures; and so he did to many other friends; legacies, given rather to express his affection, than to make any addition to their estates. But unto the poor he was full of charity, and unto many others, who by his constant and long continued bounty might entitle themselves to be his alms-people: for all these he made provision, and so largely, as, having then six children living, might to some appear more than proportionable to his estate. I forbear to mention any more, lest the reader may think I trespass upon his patience: but I will beg his favour, to present him with the beginning and end of his will.

In the name of the blessed and glorious Trinity, Amen. I John Donne, by the mercy of Christ Jesus, and by the calling of the Church of England, Priest, being at this time in good health and perfect understanding, (praised be God therefore) do hereby make my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following :

First, I give my gracious God an entire sacrifice of body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that assurance which his blessed Spirit imprints in me now of the salvation of the one, and the resurrection of the other; and for that constant and cheerful resolution, which the same Spirit hath established in me, to live and die in the religion now professed in the Church of England. In expectation of that resurrection, I desire my body may be buried (in the most private manner that may be) in that place of St. Paul's Church, London, that the now residentiaries have at my request designed for that purpose, &c.

— And this my last Will and Testament, made in the fear of God, (whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly rely upon in Jesus Christ) and in perfect love and charity with all

all the world (whose pardon I ask, from the lowest of my servants, to the biggest of my superiors) written all with my own hand, and my name subscribed to every page, of which there are five in number.

Sealed December 13, 1630.

Nor was this bleffed sacrifice of charity expreffed only at his death, but in his life also, by a cheerful and frequent visitation of any friend whose mind was dejected, or his fortune neceffitous ; he was inquisitive after the wants of prisoners, and re-deemed many from prison, that lay for their fees or small debts ; he was a continual giver to poor fcholars, both of this and foreign nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually fent a servant, or a discreet and trufy friend, to distribute his charity to all the prisons in London, at all the festival times of the year, eſpecially at the birth and resurrection of our Saviour. He gave an hundred pounds at one time to an old friend, whom he had known live plentifully, and by a too liberal heart and careleſſness became

decayed in his estate ; and when the receiving of it was denied, by the gentleman saying, “ He wanted not ;”—for the reader may note, that as there be some spirits so generous as to labour to conceal and endure a sad poverty, rather than expose themselves to those blushes that attend the confession of it ; so there be others, to whom nature and grace have afforded such sweet and compaffionate souls, as to pity and prevent the distresses of mankind ; which I have mentioned because of Dr. Donne’s reply, whose answer was ; “ I know you want not what will sustain nature ; for a little will do that : “ but my desire is, that you, who in the days of your plenty have cheered and raised the hearts of so many of your dejected friends, would now receive this from me, and use it as a cordial for the cheering of your own ; ” and upon these terms it was received. He was an happy reconciler of many differences in the families of his friends and kindred, (which he never undertook faintly ; for such undertakings have usually faint effects) and they

they had such a faith in his judgment and impartiality, that he never advised them to any thing in vain. He was even to her death a most dutiful son to his mother, careful to provide for her supportation, of which she had been destitute, but that God raised him up to prevent her necessities; who having sucking in the religion of the Roman Church with her mother's milk, spent her estate in foreign countries, to enjoy a liberty in it, and died in his house but three months before him.

And to the end it may appear how just a steward he was of his Lord and Master's revenue, I have thought fit to let the reader know, that after his entrance into his deanery, as he numbered his years, he (at the foot of a private account, to which God and his angels were only witnesses with him) computed first his revenue, then what was given to the poor, and other pious uses; and lastly, what rested for him and his; and having done that, he then blessed each year's poor remainder with a thankful prayer; which, for that they discover a more than common devotion,

the

the reader shall partake some of them in his own words :

“ So all is that remains this year—

“ Deo Opt. Max. benigno
 “ Largitori, a me, et ab iis
 “ Quibus hæc a me reservantur,
 “ Gloria et gratia in æternum.
 “ Amen.”

“ So that this year God hath blessed
 “ me and mine with—

“ Multiplicatæ sunt super
 “ Nos misericordiæ tuæ
 “ Domine.—
 “ Da Domine, ut quæ ex immensa
 “ Bonitate tua nobis elargiri
 “ Dignatus sis, in quorumcunque
 “ Manus devenerint, in tuam
 “ Semper cedant gloriam.
 “ Amen.”

“ In fine horum sex annorum manet—

“ Quid habeo quod non accepi a Domino?
 “ Largitur etiam ut quæ largitus est
 “ Sua iterum fiant, bono eorum usu ; ut
 “ Quemadmodum nec officiis hujus mundi,
 “ Nec loci in quo me posuit dignitati, nec
 “ Servis, nec egenis, in toto hujus anni
 “ Curriculo mihi conclusus sum me desuisse;

“ Ita

“ Ita et liberi, quibus quæ supersunt,
“ Supersunt, grato animo ea accipient,
“ Et beneficum authorem recognoscant.
“ Amen.”

But I return from my long digression.—We left the author sick in Essex, where he was forced to spend much of that winter, by reason of his disability to remove from that place; and having never for almost twenty years omitted his personal attendance on his Majesty in that month in which he was to attend and preach to him, nor having ever been left out of the roll and number of Lent Preachers, and there being then (in Jan. 1630.) a report brought to London, or raised there, that Dr. Donne was dead; that report gave him occasion to write the following letter to a dear friend :

“ Sir, this advantage you and my other
“ friends have by my frequent fevers, that
“ I am so much the oftener at the gates
“ of heaven; and this advantage by the
“ solitude and close imprisonment that
“ they reduce me to after, that I am so
“ much the oftener at my prayers, in
“ which

“ which I shall never leave out your hap-
“ piness ; and I doubt not among his
“ other blessings, God will add some one
“ to you for my prayers. A man would
“ almost be content to die, if there were
“ no other benefit in death, to hear of so
“ much sorrow, and so much good testi-
“ mony from good men, as I (God be
“ blessed for it) did upon the report of
“ my death : yet I perceive it went not
“ through all ; for one writ to me that
“ some (and he said of my friends) con-
“ ceived I was not so ill as I pretended,
“ but withdrew myself to live at ease, dis-
“ charged of preaching. It is an unfriend-
“ ly, and, God knows, an ill-grounded
“ interpretation ; for I have always been
“ sorrier when I could not preach, than
“ any could be they could not hear me.
“ It hath been my desire, and God may
“ be pleased to grant it, that I might die
“ in the pulpit ; if not that, yet that I
“ might take my death in the pulpit ;
“ that is, die the sooner by occasion
“ of those labours. Sir, I hope to see
“ you presently after Candlemas ; about
“ which

“ which time will fall my Lent sermon
“ at court, except my Lord Chamberlain
“ believe me to be dead, and so leave me
“ out of the roll : but as long as I live,
“ and am not speechless, I would not
“ willingly decline that service. I have
“ better leisure to write, than you to read;
“ yet I would not willingly oppress you
“ with too much letter. God so bles
“ you and your son, as I wish to
“ Your poor friend,
“ And servant in Christ Jesus,
“ J. DONNE.”

Before that month ended, he was appointed to preach upon his old constant day, the first Friday in Lent : he had notice of it, and had in his sickness so prepared for that employment, that, as he had long thirsted for it, so he resolved his weakness should not hinder his journey ; he came therefore to London some few days before his appointed day of preaching. At his coming thither, many of his friends (who with sorrow saw his sickness had left him but so much flesh as did only

cover

cover his bones) doubted his strength to perform that task, and did therefore dissuade him from undertaking it, assuring him however it was like to shorten his life : but he passionately denied their requests, saying, " he would not doubt that " that God, who in so many weaknesses " had assisted him with an unexpected " strength, would now withdraw it in his " last employment ; professing an holy " ambition to perform that sacred work."

And when, to the amazement of some beholders, he appeared in the pulpit, many of them thought he presented himself not to preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a decayed body, and a dying face. And doubtless many did secretly ask that question in Ezekiel (chap. xxxvii. 3.) " Do these bones live ? or, " can that soul organize that tongue, to " speak so long time as the sand in that " glass will move towards its centre, " and measure out an hour of this dying " man's unspent life ? Doubtless it cannot." And yet, after some faint pauses in his zealous prayer, his strong desires enabled

his

his weak body to discharge his memory of his preconceived meditations, which were of dying ; the text being, “ To God “ the Lord belong the issues from death.” Many that then saw his tears, and heard his faint and hollow voice, profeffing they thought the text prophetically chosen, and that Dr. Donne *bad preached his own funeral sermon.*

Being full of joy that God had enabled him to perform this desired duty, he hastened to his house; out of which he never moved, till, like St. Stephen, “ he was “ carried by devout men to his grave.”

The next day after his sermon, his strength being much wasted, and his spirits so spent as indisposed him to business or to talk, a friend, that had often been a witness of his free and facetious discourse, asked him, “ Why are you sad ?” To whom he replied, with a countenance so full of cheerful gravity, as gave testimony of an inward tranquillity of mind, and of a soul willing to take a farewell of this world ; and said,

“ I am not sad ; but most of the night
“ past

“ past I have entertained myself with many thoughts of several friends, that have left me here, and are gone to that place from which they shall not return ; and that within a few days I also shall go hence, and be no more seen. And my preparation for this change is become my nightly meditation upon my bed, which my infirmities have now made restless to me. But at this present time I was in a serious contemplation of the providence and goodness of God to me ; to me, who am less than the least of his mercies : and looking back upon my life past, I now plainly see it was his hand that prevented me from all temporal employment ; and that it was his will I should never settle nor thrive till I entered into the ministry ; in which I have now lived almost twenty years (I hope to his glory), and by which, I most humbly thank him, I have been enabled to requite most of those friends which shewed me kindness when my fortune was very low, as God knows it was ; and (as it hath occasioned the

“ ex-

“ expression of my gratitude) I thank God
“ most of them have stood in need of my
“ requital. I have lived to be useful and
“ comfortable to my good father-in-law,
“ Sir George Moore, whose patience God
“ hath been pleased to exercise with many
“ temporal crosses; I have maintained my
“ own mother, whom it hath pleased God,
“ after a plentiful fortune in her younger
“ days, to bring to a great decay in her very
“ old age. I have quieted the consciences
“ of many, that have groaned under the
“ burthen of a wounded spirit, whose
“ prayers I hope are available for me. I
“ cannot plead innocency of life, espe-
“ cially of my youth; but I am to be
“ judged by a merciful God, *who is not*
“ *willing to see what I have done amiss.*
“ And though of myself I have nothing
“ to present to him but sins and misery,
“ yet I know he looks not upon me now
“ as I am of myself, but as I am in my
“ Saviour, and hath given me even at this
“ present time some testimonies by his
“ Holy Spirit, that I am of the number of

*“ his elect : I am therefore full of inex-
“ pressible joy, and shall die in peace.”*

I must here look so far back, as to tell the reader, that at his first return out of Essex, to preach his last sermon, his old friend and physician, Dr. Fox (a man of great worth) came to him to consult his health; and that after a sight of him, and some queries concerning his distempers, he told him, “ That by cordials, and drink-
“ ing milk twenty days together, there
“ was a probability of his restoration to
“ health ;” but he passionately denied to drink it. Nevertheless, Dr. Fox, who loved him most entirely, wearied him with solicitations, till he yielded to take it for ten days; at the end of which time he told Dr. Fox, “ He had drunk it more
“ to satisfy him, than to recover his
“ health ; and that he would not drink it
“ ten days longer, upon the best moral
“ assurance of having twenty years added
“ to his life ; for he loved it not ; and
“ was so far from fearing death, which
“ to others is the King of Terrors, that
“ he

" he longed for the day of his dissolution."

It is observed, that a desire of glory or commendation is rooted in the very nature of man; and that those of the severest and most mortified lives, though they may become so humble as to banish self-flattery, and such weeds as naturally grow there; yet they have not been able to kill this desire of glory, but that, like our radical heat, it will both live and die with us; and many think it should do so; and we want not sacred examples to justify the desire of having our memory to outlive our lives: which I mention, because Dr. Donne, by the persuasion of Dr. Fox, easily yielded at this very time to have a monument made for him; but Dr. Fox undertook not to persuade him how, or what monument it should be; that was left to Dr. Donne himself.

A monument being resolved upon, Dr. Donne sent for a carver to make for him in wood the figure of an urn, giving him directions for the compass and height of it; and to bring with it a board, of the

just height of his body. These being got, then without delay a choice painter was got to be in readiness to draw his picture, which was taken as followeth.—Several charcoal fires being first made in his large study, he brought with him into that place his winding-sheet in his hand, and having put off all his clothes, had this sheet put on him, and so tied with knots at his head and feet, and his hands so placed as dead bodies are usually fitted, to be shrowded and put into their coffin, or grave. Upon this urn he thus stood, with his eyes shut, and with so much of the sheet turned aside as might shew his lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purposely turned toward the east, from whence he expected the second coming of his and our Saviour Jesus. In this posture he was drawn at his just height; and when the picture was fully finished, he caused it to be set by his bed-side, where it continued, and became his hourly object till his death, and was then given to his dearest friend and executor Dr. Henry King, then chief Residentiary of St. Paul's, who caused him

to

to be thus carved in one entire piece of white marble, as it now stands in that church; and by Dr. Donne's own appointment, these words were to be affixed to it as his epitaph:—

JOHANNES DONNE,
SAC. THEOL. PROFESS.
POST VARIA STUDIA QUIBUS AB ANNIS
TENERRIMIS FIDELITER, NEC INFELICITER
INCUBUIT;
INSTINCTU ET IMPULSU SP. SANCTI, MONITU
ET HORTATU
REGIS JACOBI, ORDINES SACROS AMPLEXUS
ANNO SUI JESU MDCXIV. ET SUÆ ÆTATIS XLII.
DECANATU HUJUS ECCLESIÆ INBUTUS
XXVII. NOVEMBRIS, MDCXXI.
EXUTUS MORTE ULTIMO DIE MARTII MDCXXXI.
HIC LICET IN OCCIDUO CINERE ASPICIT EUM
CUJUS NOMEN EST ORIENS.

And now, having brought him through the many labyrinths and perplexities of a various life, even to the gates of death and the grave, my desire is, he may rest, till I have told my reader that I have seen many pictures of him, in several habits, and at several ages, and in several postures; and I now mention this, because I

have seen one picture of him, drawn by a curious hand, at his age of eighteen, with his sword and what other adornments might then suit with the present fashions of youth, and the giddy gaieties of that age ; and his motto then was——

“ How much shall I be chang'd,
“ Before I am chang'd !”

And if that young, and his now dying picture were at this time set together, every beholder might say, “ Lord ! how “ much is Dr. Donne already changed, “ before he is changed !” And the view of them might give my reader occasion to ask himself with some amazement, “ Lord ! “ how much may I also, that am now in “ health, be changed before I am chang- “ ed ; before this vile, this changeable “ body shall put off mortality ! ” and there- fore to prepare for it.——But this is not writ so much for my reader's memento, as to tell him, that Dr. Donne would often in his private discourses, and often publicly in his sermons, mention the many changes both of his body and mind ; especially of his

his mind, from a vertiginous giddiness ; and would as often say, “ His great and “ most blessed change was from a tem- “ poral to a spiritual employment ; ” in which he was so happy, that he accounted the former part of his life to be lost ; and the beginning of it to be, from his first entering into sacred orders, and serving his most merciful God at his altar.

Upon Monday after the drawing this picture, he took his last leave of his beloved study ; and, being sensible of his hourly decay, retired himself to his bed-chamber, and that week sent at several times for many of his most considerable friends, with whom he took a solemn and deliberate farewell, commanding to their considerations some sentences useful for the regulation of their lives ; and then dismissed them, as good Jacob did his sons, with a spiritual benediction. The Sunday following, he appointed his servants, that if there were any business yet undone, that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against Saturday next ; for after that day he would not mix his thoughts

with any thing that concerned this world ; nor ever did ; but, as Job, so he “ waited “ for the appointed day of his dissolu- “ tion.”

And now he was so happy as to have nothing to do but to die ; to do which, he stood in need of no longer time ; for he had studied it long, and to so happy a perfection, that in a former sickness he called God to witness (in his Book of Devotions written then) “ He was that minute ready “ to deliver his soul into his hands, if that “ minute God would determine his disso- “ lution.” In that sickness he begged of God the constancy to be preserved in that estate for ever ; and his patient expectation to have his immortal soul disrobed from her garment of mortality, makes me confident that he now had a modest assurance that his prayers were then heard, and his petition granted. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change ; and in the last hour of his last day, as his body melted away, and vapoured into spirit, his soul having, I verily believe, some revelation of the beatiful vision,

vision, he said, “ I were miserable if I might not die ; ” and after those words, closed many periods of his faint breath by saying often, “ Thy kingdom come, thy will be done.” His speech, which had long been his ready and faithful servant, left him not till the last minute of his life, and then forsook him, not to serve another master (for who speaks like him), but died before him ; for that it was then become useless to him, that now conversed with God on earth, as angels are said to do in heaven, *only by thoughts and looks*. Being speechless, and seeing heaven by that illumination by which he saw it, he did, as St. Stephen, “ look steadfastly into it, till he saw the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God his Father ; ” and, being satisfied with this blessed sight, as his soul ascended, and his last breath departed from him, he closed his own eyes, and then disposed his hands and body into such a posture, as required not the least alteration by those that came to shroud him.

Thus *variable*, thus *virtuous* was the life ;

life ; thus *excellent*, thus *exemplary* was the death of this memorable man.

He was buried in that place of St. Paul's Church which he had appointed for that use some years before his death, and by which he passed daily to pay his public devotions to Almighty God (who was then served twice a day by a public form of prayer and praises in that place) : but he was not buried privately, though he desired it ; for, beside an unnumbered number of others, many persons of nobility, and of eminency for learning, who did love and honour him in his life, did shew it at his death, by a voluntary and sad attendance of his body to the grave, where nothing was so remarkable as a public sorrow.

To which place of his burial some mournful friend repaired ; and, as Alexander the Great did to the grave of the famous Achilles, so they strewed his with an abundance of curious and costly flowers ; which course they (who were never yet known) continued morning and evening for many days, not ceasing, till the stones,

stones, that were taken up in that church, to give his body admission into the cold earth (now his bed of rest), were again by the mason's art so levelled and firmed as they had been formerly, and his place of burial undistinguishable to common view.

The next day after his burial, some unknown friend, some one of the many lovers and admirers of his virtue and learning, writ this epitaph with a coal on the wall over his grave :—

“ Reader ! I am to let thee know,
“ Donne’s body only lies below ;
“ For, could the grave his soul comprise,
“ Earth would be richer than the skies.”

Nor was this all the honour done to his reverend ashes ; for as there be some persons that will not receive a reward for that for which God accounts himself a debtor ; persons that dare trust God with their charity, and without a witness ; so there was by some grateful unknown friend, that thought Dr. Donne’s memory ought to be perpetuated, an hundred marks sent to his two faithful friends and executors

cutors (Dr. King and Dr. Montfort), towards the making of his monument. It was not for many years known by whom; but, after the death of Dr. Fox, it was known that it was he that sent it; and he lived to see as lively a representation of his dead friend, as marble can express; a statue indeed so like Dr. Donne, that (as his friend Sir Henry Wotton hath expressed himself) “It seems to breathe faintly, and posterity shall look upon it “as a kind of artificial miracle.”

He was of stature moderately tall; of a straight and equally proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave an unexpressible addition of comeliness.

The melancholy and pleasant humour were in him so contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind.

His fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great wit; both being made useful by a commanding judgment.

His

His aspect was cheerful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a clear knowing soul, and of a conscience at peace with itself.

His melting eye shewed that he had a soft heart, full of noble compassion; of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too much a Christian not to pardon them in others.

He did much contemplate (especially after he entered into his sacred calling) the mercies of Almighty God, the immortality of the soul, and the joys of heaven; and would often say in a kind of sacred ecstasy, “Blessed be God that ‘he is God, only and divinely like himself.’”

He was by nature highly passionate, but more apt to reluct at the excesses of it. A great lover of the offices of humanity, and of so merciful a spirit, that he never beheld the miseries of mankind without pity and relief.

He was earnest and unwearied in the search of knowledge, with which his vigorous soul is now satisfied, and employed in a continual praise of that God that first breathed

breathed it into his active body ; that body, which once was a temple of the Holy Ghost, and is now become a small quantity of Christian dust :—But I shall see it reanimated.

Feb. 15, 1639,

J. W.

AN

A N E P I T A P H

WRITTEN BY

DOCTOR CORBET, LATE BISHOP OF OXFORD,
ON HIS FRIEND, DOCTOR DONNE.

HE that would write an epitaph for thee,
And write it well, must first begin to be
Such as thou wert ; for none can truly know
Thy life and worth, but he that hath liv'd so.
He must have wit to spare, and to hurl down,
Enough to keep the gallants of the town.
He must have learning plenty ; both the laws,
Civil and common, to judge any cause.
Divinity great store above the rest,
Not of the last edition, but the best.
He must have language, travel, all the arts,
Judgment to use, or else he wants thy parts.
He must have friends the highest, able to do,
Such as Mæcenas and Augustus too.
He must have such a fickness, such a death,
Or else his vain descriptions come beneath.
He that would write an epitaph for thee,
Should first be dead ; let it alone for me.

TO

TO THE MEMORY OF
MY EVER DESIRED DOCTOR DONNE.

A N E L E G Y,

BY H. KING, LATE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

TO have liv'd eminent in a degree
Beyond our loftiest thoughts, that is like thee ;
Or t' have had too much merit is not safe,
For such excesses find no epitaph.

At common graves we have poetic eyes,
Can melt themselves in easy elegies ;
Each quill can drop his tributary verse,
And pin it, like the hatchiments, to the hearse :
But at thine, poem or inscription
(Rich soul of wit and language) we have none.
Indeed a silence does that tomb befit,
Where is no herald left to blazon it.
Widow'd Invention justly doth forbear
To come abroad, knowing thou art not there :
Late her great patron, whose prerogative
Maintain'd and cloth'd her so, as none alive
Must now presume to keep her at thy rate,
'Tho' he the Indies for her dower estate.
Or else that awful fire which once did burn
In thy clear brain, now fallen into thy urn,
Lives there to fright rude empirics from thence,
Which might profane thee by their ignorance.

Whoever

Whoever writes of thee, and in a style
 Unworthy such a theme, does but revile
 Thy precious duft, and wakes a learned spirit,
 Which may revenge his rapes upon thy merit :
 For all a low-pitch'd fancy can devise
 Will prove at best but hallow'd injuries.

Thou like the dying swan didft lately sing
 Thy mournful dirge in audience of the King ;
 When pale looks and faint accents of thy breath
 Presented fo to life that piece of death,
 That it was fear'd and prophesy'd by all
 Thou thither cam'ft to preach thy funeral.
 Oh, hadft thou in an elegiac knell
 Rung out unto the world thine own farewell,
 And in thy high victorious numbers beat
 The solemn measures of thy griev'd retreat,
 Thou might'ft the poet's service now have mist,
 As well as then thou didft prevent the priest ;
 And never to the world beholden be,
 So much as for an epitaph for thee.

I do not like the office ; nor is 't fit
 Thou, who didft lend our age such sums of wit,
 Should'ft now reborrow from her bankrupt mine
 That ore to bury thee which first was thine :
 Rather still leave us in thy debt, and know,
 Exalted soul, more glory 'tis to owe
 Thy memory what we can never pay,
 Than with embased coin those rites defray.

Commit we then thee to thyself, nor blame
 Our drooping loves, that thus to thine own fame

Leave thee executor, since but thine own
 No pen could do thee justice, nor bays crown
 Thy vast deserts ; save that we nothing can
 Depute to be thy ashes' guardian.

So Jewellers no art or metal truft
 To form the diamond, but the diamond's duft.

H. K.

AN ELEGY ON DOCTOR DONNE.

OUR Donne is dead ! and we may fighing say,
 We had that man, where language chose to stay,
 And shew her utmost power. I would not praise
 That, and his great wit, which in our vain days
 Make others proud, but as these fery'd to unlock
 That cabinet his mind, where such a flock
 Of knowledge was repos'd, that I lament
 Our just and general cause of discontent.

And I rejoice I am not so severe,
 But as I write a line, to weep a tear
 For his decease ; such sad extremities
 Can make such men as I write elegies.

And wonder not ; for when so great a losſ
 Falls on a nation, and they flight the croſſ,
 God hath rais'd prophets to awaken them
 From their dull lethargy ; witness my pen,

Not

Not us'd to upbraid the world, though now it must
Freely and boldly, for the cause is just.

Dull age ! oh, I would spare thee, but thou 'rt worse :
Thou art not only dull, but haft a curse
Of black ingratitude ; if not, couldst thou
Part with this matchless man, and make no vow
For thee and thine successively to pay
Some sad remembrance to his dying day ?

Did his youth scatter poetry, wherein
Lay love's philosophy ? was every sin
Pictur'd in his sharp satires, made so foul,
That some have fear'd sin's shapes, and kept their soul
Safer by reading verse ? Did he give days,
Past marble monuments, to those whose praise
He would perpetuate ? Did he (I fear
Envy will doubt) these at his twentieth year ?

But, more matur'd, did his rich soul conceive,
And in harmonious holy numbers weave
A crown of sacred sonnets *, fit t'adorn
A dying martyr's brow, or to be worn
On that blest head of Mary Magdalen,
After she wip'd Christ's feet, but not till then ?
Did he (fit for such penitents as she
And he to use) leave us a Letanie,
Which all devout men love, and doubtless shall,
As times grow better, grow more classical ?
Did he write hymns, for piety and wit,
Equal to those great grave Prudentius writ ?

* La Corona.

Spake he all languages ? Knew he all laws ?
 The grounds and use of phyfic ; but, because
 'Twas mercenary, wav'd it ? went to see
 That happy place of Christ's nativity ?
 Did he return and preach him ? preach him so,
 As since St. Paul none ever did ? they know—
 Those happy souls that heard him know this truth.
 Did he confirm thy ag'd ? convert thy youth ?
 Did he these wonders ? and is his dear losſ
 Mourn'd by ſo few ? few for ſo great a croſs.

But ſure the ſilent are ambitious all
 To be close mourners at his funeral.
 If not ; in common pity they forbear
 By repetitions to renew our care :
 Or knowing grief conceiv'd and hid, consumes
 Man's life infenſibly (as poifon's fumes
 Corrupt the brain), take silence for the way
 T' enlarge the ſoul from these walls, mud and clay,
 (Materials of this body) to remain
 With him in heaven, where no promiſcuouſ pain
 Leffens those joys we have ; for with him all
 Are ſatisfy'd with joys eſſential.

Dwell on these joys, my thoughts ! Oh, do not call
 Grief back, by thinking on his funeral.
 Forget he lov'd me : waſte not my ſwift years,
 Which haſte to David's feſtivity, fill'd with fears
 And ſorrows for his death : forget his parts,
 They find a living grave in good men's hearts :
 And, for my firſt is daily paid for fin,
 Forget to pay my ſecond ſigh for him :
 Forget his powerful preaching ; and forget
 I am his convert. Oh my frailty ! let

My

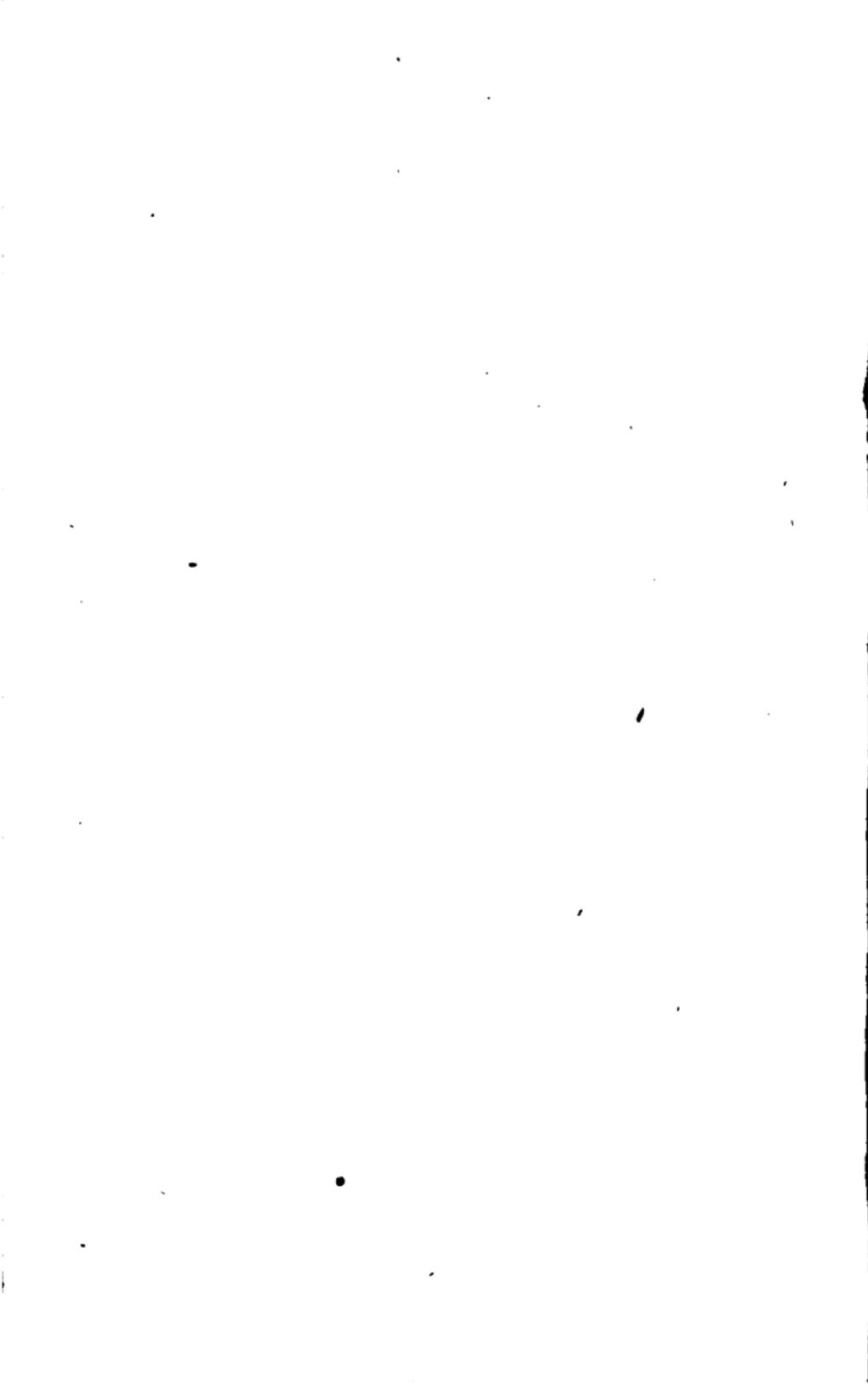
My flesh be no more heard ; it will obtrude
This lethargy : so should my gratitude,
My vows of gratitude should so be broke,
Which can no more be, than his virtues, spoke
By any but himself : for which cause, I
Write no encomiums, but this elegy ;
Which, as a free-will offering, I here give
Fame and the world ; and, parting with it, grieve
I want abilities fit to set forth
A monument as matchless as his worth.

April 7, 1631.

IZ. WA.



**THE LIFE
OF
SIR HENRY WOTTON,
LATE PROVOST OF EATON COLLEGE.**



THE LIFE
OF
SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON (whose life I now intend to write) was born in the year of our Redemption 1568, in Bocton-Hall (commonly called Bocton, or Bougton-Place, or Palace) in the parish of Bocton Malherbe, in the fruitful country of Kent: Bocton-Hall being an ancient and goodly structure, beautifying and being beautified by the parish-church of Bocton Malherbe adjoining unto it, and both seated within a fair park of the Wottons, on the brow of such a hill, as gives the advantage of a large prospect, and of equal pleasure to all beholders.

But this house and church are not remarkable for any thing so much, as for
that

that the memorable family of the Wottons have so long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many monuments in that church; the Wottons being a family that hath brought forth divers persons eminent for wisdom and valour; whose heroic acts, and noble employments, both in England and in foreign parts, have adorned themselves and this nation; which they have served abroad faithfully, in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their negotiations with several princes; and also served at home with much honour and justice, in their wise managing a great part of the public affairs thereof, in the various times both of war and peace.

But lest I should be thought by any, that may incline either to deny or doubt this truth, not to have observed moderation in the commendation of this family; and also for that I believe the merits and memory of such persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every reader, out of the testimony of their pedigree and our chronicles,

nicles, a part (and but a part) of that just commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and shall then leave the indifferent reader to judge whether my error be an excess or defect of commendations.

Sir Robert Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Knight, was born about the year of Christ 1460 : he, living in the reign of King Edward IV. was by him trusted to be Lieutenant of Guisnes, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroller of Calais, where he died, and lies honourably buried.

Sir Edward Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Knight, (son and heir of the said Sir Robert) was born in the year of Christ 1489, in the reign of King Henry VII. ; he was made Treasurer of Calais, and of the Privy Council to King Henry VIII. who offered him to be Lord Chancellor of England; “ But,” faith Hollinshed, in his Chronicle, “ out of a virtuous modesty, “ he refused it.”

Thomas Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Esquire, son and heir of the said Sir Edward, and the father of our Sir Henry, that

that occasions this relation, was born in the year of Christ 1521. He was a gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the liberal arts; in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had (besides those abilities, a very noble and plentiful estate, and the ancient interest of his predecessors) many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his country recreations and retirement for a court, offering him a knighthood (she was then with him at his Bocton-Hall), and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under her; yet he humbly refused both, being a man of great modesty, of a most plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom, and integrity of mind. A commendation which Sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the son of such a father; from whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himself, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This

Thomas

Thomas was also remarkable for hospitality, a great lover and much beloved of his country; to which may justly be added, that he was a cherisher of learning, as appears by that excellent antiquary Mr. William Lambert, in his Perambulation of Kent.

This Thomas had four sons, Sir Edward, Sir James, Sir John, and Sir Henry.

Sir Edward was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made Comptroller of her Majesty's Household. "He was," saith Camden, "a man remarkable for many "and great employments in the state, "during her reign, and sent several times "ambassador into foreign nations. After "her death, he was by King James made "Comptroller of his Household, and call- "ed to be of his Privy Council, and by "him advanced to be Lord Wotton, Ba- "ron of Merley in Kent, and made Lord "Lieutenant of that county."

Sir James, the second son, may be numbered among the martial men of his age, who was, in the thirty-eighth of Queen Elizabeth's reign (with Robert Earl

Earl of Suffex, Count Lodowick of Naf-fau, Don Christophoro, son of Antonio King of Portugal, and divers other gentlemen of nobleness and valour) knighted in the field near Cadiz in Spain, after they had gotten great honour and riches, besides a notable retaliation of injuries, by taking that town.

Sir John, being a gentleman excellently accomplished, both by learning and travel, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and by her looked upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir Henry my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of these fore-named Wottons were all in a direct line, and most of them and their actions in the memory of those with whom we have conversed: but if I had looked so far back as to Sir Nicholas Wotton, (who lived in the reign of King Richard II.) or before him, upon divers others of great note in their several ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and

and yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the fourth son of Sir Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was Doctor of Law, and sometime Dean both of York and Canterbury ; a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his country, as is testified by his several employments (*vide Camden's Britannia*) ; having been sent nine times Ambassador unto foreign princes ; and by his being a Privy Counsellor to King Henry VIII. to Edward VI. to Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth ; who also, after he had been, during the wars between England, Scotland, and France, three several times (and not unsuccessfully) employed in committees for settling of peace betwixt this and those kingdoms, “died,” saith learned Camden, “full of commendations for ‘wisdom and piety.’” He was also by the will of King Henry VIII. made one of his executors, and chief Secretary of State

State to his son, that pious prince, Edward VI.—Concerning which Nicholas Wotton I shall say but this little more ; that he refused (being offered it by Queen Elizabeth) to be Archbishop of Canterbury—(*vide Hollinsbed*) ; and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the dissolution of abbeys.

More might be added ; but by this it may appear, that Sir Henry Wotton was a branch of such a kindred, as left a stock of reputation to their posterity ; such reputation as might kindle a generous emulation in strangers, and preserve a noble ambition in those of his name and family, to perform actions worthy of their ancestors.

And that Sir Henry Wotton did so, might appear more perfectly than my pen can express it, if of his many surviving friends, some one of higher parts and employments had been pleased to have commended his to posterity : but since some years are now past, and they have all (I know not why) forbore to do it, my gratitude to the memory of my dead friend,
and

and the renewed request of some^a that still live solicitous to see this duty performed; these have had a power to persuade me to undertake it; which truly I have not done but with some distrust of mine own abilities; and yet so far from despair, that I am modestly confident my humble language shall be accepted, because I shall present all readers with a commixture of truth, and Sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premised, I proceed to tell the reader, that the father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married; first to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Rudstone, Knight; after whose death, though his inclination was averse to all contentions, yet necessitated he was to several suits in law; in the prosecution whereof (which took up much of his time, and were the occasion of many discontents,) he was by divers of his friends earnestly persuaded to a re-marriage; to whom he as often an-

^a Sir Edward Bish, Clarencieux King of Arms, Mr. Charles Cotton, and Mr. Nick Oudert, sometime Sir Henry Wotton's servant.

swered, " That if ever he did put on a
" resolution to marry, he was seriously
" resolved to avoid three sorts of persons,
" namely,

" Those that had children ;
" Those that had law-suits ;
" And those that were of his kindred."

And yet, following his own law-suits, he met in Westminster-hall with Mrs. Elionora Morton, widow to Robert Morton, of Kent, Esq. who was also engaged in several suits in law : and he, observing her comportment at the time of hearing one of her causes before the judges, could not but at the same time both compassionate her condition, and affect her person ; for the tears of lovers, or beauty drest in sadness, are observed to have in them a charming eloquence, and to become very often too strong to be resisted : which I mention, because it proved so with this Thomas Wotton ; for although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents, against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection to her grew then so strong, that

that he resolved to solicit her for a wife, and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the daughter of Sir William Finch, of Eastwell in Kent) he had only Henry his youngest son. His mother undertook to be tutoress unto him during much of his childhood; for whose care and pains he paid her each day with such visible signs of future perfection in learning, as turned her employment into a pleasing trouble; which she was content to continue, till his father took him into his own particular care, and disposed of him to a tutor in his own house at Bocton.

And when time and diligent instruction had made him fit for a removal to an higher form (which was very early), he was sent to Winchester-school, a place of strict discipline and order, that so he might in his youth be moulded into a method of living by rule, which his wise father knew to be the most necessary way to make the future part of his life both happy to himself, and useful for the discharge of all business, whether public or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this

regularity, he was at a fit age removed from that school, to be a commoner of New-College in Oxford ; both being founded by William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester.

There he continued till about the eighteenth year of his age, and was then transplanted into Queen's College ; where within that year he was by the chief of that college persuasively enjoined to write a play for their private use ; (it was the Tragedy of Tancredo)—which was so interwoven with sentences, and for the method and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared, he had in a slight employment given an early and a solid testimony of his future abilities. And though there may be some four dispositions, which may think this not worth a memorial, yet that wise knight, Baptista Guarini, (whom learned Italy accounts one of her ornaments) thought it neither an uncomely nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But

But I pass to what will be thought more serious.

About the twentieth year of his age he proceeded Master of Arts ; and at that time read in Latin three lectures *de Oculo*; wherein he having described the form, the motion, the curious composure of the eye, and demonstrated how of those very many every humour and nerve performs its distinct office, so as the God of order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion ; and all this to the advantage of man, to whom the eye is given, not only as the body's guide, but whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the soul, this in an instant apprehends and warns him of danger ; teaching him in the very eyes of others, to discover wit, folly, love, and hatred. After he had made these observations, he fell to dispute this optique question, "Whether we see by the emission of the beams from within, or reception of the species from without ?" And after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, he in the conclusion of his lectures took a fair occasion

to beautify his discourse with a commendation of the blessing and benefit of
“ Seeing ;—by which we do not only dis-
“ cover Nature’s secrets, but with a con-
“ tinued content (for the eye is never
“ weary of seeing) behold the great light
“ of the world, and by it discover the fa-
“ bric of the heavens, and both the order
“ and motion of the celestial orbs ; nay,
“ that if the eye look but downward, it
“ may rejoice to behold the bosom of the
“ earth, our common mother, embroi-
“ dered and adorned with numberless and
“ various flowers, which man sees daily
“ grow up to perfection, and then silently
“ moralize his own condition, who in a
“ short time (like those very flowers) de-
“ cays, withers, and quickly returns again
“ to that earth, from which both had their
“ first being.”

These were so exactly debated, and so rhetorically heightened, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericus Gentilis, then Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford, to call him “ *Henrice mi
“ Ocelle;*” which dear expression of his
was

was also used by divers of Sir Henry's dearest friends, and by many other persons of note during his stay in the University.

But his stay there was not long, at least not so long as his friends once intended ; for the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his father (whom Sir Henry did never mention without this or some like reverential expression ; as, " That good man my father," or " My " father, the best of men ;")—about that time, this good man changed this for a better life ; leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, a rent-charge of an hundred marks a year, to be paid for ever out of some one of his manors, of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a circumstance or two that concern him may not be buried without a relation ; which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose they may so much concern the reader to know, that I may promise myself a pardon for a short digression.

IN the year of our redemption 1553, Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, (whom I formerly mentioned) being then Ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project, as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruin of his family.

Doubtless the good Dean did well know that common dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts, or of the business of the day past, or are the result of our over-engaged affections, when we betake ourselves to rest; and knew that the observation of them may turn to silly superstitions, as they too often do. But though he might know all this, and might also believe that prophecies are ceased; yet doubtless he could not but consider, that all dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration; and did therefore rather lay this dream aside, than intend totally to lose it; and dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a double dream,
like

like that of Pharaoh, (of which double dreams the learned have made many observations), and considering that it had no dependence on his waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then he did more seriously consider it; and remembered that Almighty God was pleased in a dream to reveal and to assure Monica, the mother of St. Austin, “ That he, her “ son, for whom she wept so bitterly, and “ prayed so much, should at last become a “ Christian.” This, I believe, the good Dean considered; and considering also that Almighty God (though the causes of dreams be often unknown) hath even in these latter times also, by a certain illumination of the soul in sleep, discovered many things that human wisdom could not foresee; upon these considerations he resolved to use so prudent a remedy by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himself or to his nephew. And to that end he wrote to the Queen (it was Queen Mary), and besought her, “ That she would cause his

* St. Austin's Confession.

“ ne-

" nephew, Thomas Wotton, to be sent for
" out of Kent ; and that the Lords of her
" Council might interrogate him in some
" such feigned questions, as might give
" a colour for his commitment into a fa-
" vorable prison ; declaring that he would
" acquaint her Majesty with the true rea-
" son of his request, when he should next
" become so happy as to see and speak to
" her Majesty."

It was done as the Dean desired : and in prison I must leave Mr. Wotton, till I have told the reader what followed.

At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our Queen Mary and Philip King of Spain ; and though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the persuasion, of her Privy Council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this nation ; yet divers persons of a contrary persuasion did not only declare against it, but also raised forces to oppose it ; believing (as they said) it would be a means to bring England to be under a subjection to Spain, and make those of this nation slaves to strangers.

And

And of this number, Sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley-Abbey in Kent, (betwixt whose family and the family of the Wottons there had been an ancient and entire friendship,) was the principal actor; who having persuaded many of the nobility and gentry (especially of Kent) to side with him, and he being defeated, and taken prisoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and lost his life: so did the Duke of Suffolk and divers others, especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyat's assistants.

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been, if he had not been confined; for though he could not be ignorant that “Another man’s treason makes “it mine by concealing it,” yet he durst confess to his uncle, when he returned into England, and then came to visit him in prison, “That he had more than an “intimation of Wyat’s intentions;” and thought he had not continued actually innocent, if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison; out of which place

place when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his commitment, they both considered the dream more seriously, and then both joined in praising God for it ; “ That God, who ties himself to no rules, either in preventing of evil, or in shewing of mercy to those, whom of good pleasure he hath chosen to love.”

And this dream was the more considerable, because that God, who in the days of old did use to speak to his people in visions, did seem to speak to many of this family in dreams ; of which I will also give the reader one short particular of this Thomas Wotton, whose dreams did usually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and discovering things past ; and the particular is this.—This Thomas, a little before his death, dreamed that the University Treasury was robbed by townsmen and poor scholars, and that the number was five ; and being that day to write to his son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains, as by a postscript in his letter to make a slight enquiry of it. The letter (which was writ out of Kent, and dated

dated three days before) came to his son's hands the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed ; and when the City and University were both in a perplexed inquest of the thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton shew his father's letter, and by it such light was given of this work of darkness, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered and apprehended, without putting the University to so much trouble as the casting of a figure.

And it may yet be more considerable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer) foresee and foretel the very days of their own death. Nicholas did so, being then seventy years of age, and in perfect health. Thomas did the like in the fifty-fifth year of his age ; who being then in London (where he died), and foreseeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his body should be carried to Boston ; and though he thought his uncle Nicholas worthy of that

that noble monument which he built for him in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury ; yet this humble man gave direction concerning himself, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his funeral.

This is some account of this family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

BUT it may now seem more than time that I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford ; where, after his optic lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the learned Albericus Gentilis, (whom I formerly named) that, if it had been possible, Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the mathematics and law, into the breast of his dear Harry, for so Gentilis used to call him : and though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir Henry such a propensity and connaturalness to the Italian language, and those studies whereof Gentilis was a great master, that his friendship between them did daily increase, and proved daily advantageous to Sir Henry,
for

for the improvement of him in several sciences during his stay in the University.

From which place, before I shall invite the reader to follow him into a foreign nation, though I must omit to mention divers persons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for learning, and friends to Sir Henry Wotton ; yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun betwixt him and Dr. Donne, sometime Dean of St. Paul's; a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing, because he who is of this nation, and pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deserves not to know him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented ; and as it was begun in their youth, and in an University, and there maintained by correspondent inclinations and studies, so it lasted till age and death forced a separation.

In Oxford he stayed till about two years after his father's death ; at which time he was about the twenty-second year of his age : and having to his great wit added

added the ballast of learning, and knowledge of the arts, he then laid aside his books, and betook himself to the useful library of travel, and a more general conversation with mankind ; employing the remaining part of his youth, his industry, and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich treasure of foreign knowledge : of which, both for the secrets of nature, the dispositions of many nations, their several laws and languages, he was the possessor in a very large measure ; as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my pen from the following narration of his life.

In his travels, which was almost nine years before his return into England, he stayed but one year in France, and most of that in Geneva, where he became acquainted with Theodore Beza (then very aged) and with Isaac Casaubon, in whose house, if I be rightly informed, Sir Henry Wotton was lodged, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with that man of rare learning and ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years
were

were spent in Germany, the other five in Italy, (the stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life;) where both in Rome, Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the most eminent men for learning and all manner of arts; as picture, sculpture, chymistry, architecture, and other manual arts, even arts of inferior nature; of all which he was a most dear lover, and a most excellent judge.

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many both for his person and comportment; for indeed he was of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most persuasive behaviour; which was so mixed with sweet discourse and civilities, as gained him much love from all persons with whom he entered into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a sharp wit, and apt to jest; that, by time, travel, and conversation, was so polished, and made so useful, that his company seemed to be one of the de-

lights of mankind ; insomuch as Robert Earl of Essex (then one of the darlings of fortune, and in greatest favour with Queen Elizabeth) invited him first into a friendship, and, after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his secretaries ; the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe, sometime of Merton College in Oxford, (and there also the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton in his youth,) Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the University for his learning ; nor, after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of his mind, nor indeed for the fatalness of his end.

Sir Henry Wotton, being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the Earl of Essex, did personally attend his counsels and employments in two voyages at sea against the Spaniards, and also in that (which was the Earl's last) into Ireland ; that voyage, wherein he then did so much provoke the Queen to anger, and worse at his return into England ; upon whose immoveable favour the Earl had built such sandy hopes, as encouraged him to those

those undertakings, which, with the help of a contrary faction, suddenly caused his commitment to the Tower.

Sir Henry Wotton observing this, though he was not of that faction (for the Earl's followers were also divided into their several interests) which encouraged the Earl to those undertakings which proved so fatal to him and divers of his confederation ; yet, knowing treason to be so comprehensive, as to take in even circumstances, and out of them to make such positive conclusions, as subtle statesmen shall project, either for their revenge or safety ; considering this, he thought prevention, by absence out of England, a better security, than to stay in it, and there plead his innocence in a prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the Earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately, glide through Kent to Dover, without so much as looking toward his native and beloved Bo^tton ; and was, by the help of favourable winds, and liberal payment of the mariners, within sixteen hours after his departure from London, set upon the

French shore ; where he heard shortly after, that the Earl was arraigned, condemned, and beheaded ; and that his friend Mr. Cuffe was hanged, and divers other persons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look so favourably upon Sir Henry Wotton, as to invite his return into England : having therefore procured of Sir Edward Wotton, his elder brother, an assurance that his annuity should be paid him in Italy, thither he went, happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest, and indeed his great content in a new conversation with his old acquaintance in that nation, and more particularly in Florence, (which city is not more eminent for the Great Duke's court, than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for learning and arts,) in which number he there met with his old friend Signior Vietta, a gentleman of Venice, and then taken to be secretary to the Great Duke of Tuscany.

After some stay in Florence, he went the fourth time to visit Rome, where in
the

the English college he had very many friends; (their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their principles of religion;) and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some curiosities that did partly occasion his journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident befel him; an accident that did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but did introduce him to a knowledge and an interest with our King James, then King of Scotland; which I shall proceed to relate.

But first I am to tell the reader, that though Queen Elizabeth, or she and her council, were never willing to declare her successor; yet James, then King of the Scots, was confidently believed by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of kingly government would be imposed; and the Queen declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the Romish persuasion in point of religion, (even Rome itself, and

those of this nation,) knowing that the death of the Queen, and the establishing of her successor, were taken to be critical days for destroying or establishing the Protestant religion in this nation, did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a Protestant prince to succeed her. And as the Pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth had, both by the judgment and practice of the Jesuited Papist, exposed her to be warrantably destroyed; so, (if we may believe an angry adversary, a secular Priest^a against a Jesuit) you may believe, that about that time there were many endeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to shorten the life of King James.

Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence, (which was about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth,) Ferdinand, the Great Duke of Florence, had intercepted certain letters, that discovered a design to take away the life of James, the then King of

^a Watson in his Quodlibets.

Scots. The Duke abhorring the fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his secretary Vietta, by what means a caution might be best given to that King ; and after consideration it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the Duke, and the Duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his friend Vietta to the Duke, who, after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret ; and being well instructed, dispatched him into Scotland with letters to the King, and with those letters such Italian antidotes against poison, as the Scots till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the Duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian ; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger, he posted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling. Being there, he used

means, by Bernard Lindsey, one of the King's bedchamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty ; assuring him, " That the busi-
" ness which he was to negociate was of
" such consequence, as had caused the
" Great Duke of Tuscany to enjoin him
" suddenly to leave his native country of
" Italy, to impart it to his King."

This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the King, the King, after a little wonder (mixed with jealousy) to hear of an Italian ambassador, or messenger, required his name, (which was said to be Octavio Baldi,) and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the presence-chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier (which Italian-like he then wore) ; and being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch lords standing distant in several corners of the chamber : at the sight of whom he made a stand ; which the King observing, " bade him be bold,

“ bold, and deliver his message ; for he
“ would undertake for the secrecy of all
“ that were present.” Then did Octavio
Baldi deliver his letters and his message
to the King in Italian ; which when the
King had graciously received, after a lit-
tle pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the table,
and whispers to the King in his own lan-
guage, that he was an Englishman, be-
seeching him for a more private confer-
ence with his Majesty, and that he might
be concealed during his stay in that na-
tion ; which was promised and really per-
formed by the King, during all his abode
there, which was about three months ;
all which time was spent with much
pleasantness to the King, and with as
much to Octavio Baldi himself as that
country could afford ; from which he de-
parted as true an Italian as he came thi-
ther.

To the Duke at Florence he returned
with a fair and grateful account of his
employment ; and within some few months
after his return, there came certain news
to Florence, that Queen Elizabeth was
dead ;

dead ; and James King of the Scots proclaimed King of England. The Duke knowing travel and busines to be the best schools of wisdom, and that Sir Henry Wotton had been tutored in both, advised him to return presently to England, and there joy the King with his new and better title, and wait there upon fortune for a better employment.

When King James came into England, he found, amongst other of the late Queen's officers, Sir Edward, who was, after Lord Wotton, Comptroller of the House, of whom he demanded, “ If he knew one Henry Wotton, that had spent much time in foreign travel ? ” The Lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his brother. Then the King, asking where he then was, was answered, at Venice, or Florence ; but by late letters from thence he understood he would suddenly be at Paris. “ Send for him,” said the King ; “ and when he shall come into England, bid him repair privately to me.” The Lord Wotton, after a little wonder, asked the King, “ If he knew him ? ”

“ him?” To which the King answered,
“ You must rest unsatisfied of that till
“ you bring the gentleman to me.”

Not many months after this discourse, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome, by the name of *O&tavio Baldi*, saying, “ he was
“ the most honest, and therefore the best,
“ dissembler that ever he met with:”
and said, “ Seeing I know you neither
“ want learning, travel, nor experience,
“ and that I have had so real a testimony
“ of your faithfulness and abilities to ma-
“ nage an ambassage, I have sent for you
“ to declare my purpose; which is, to
“ make use of you in that kind here-
“ after.” And indeed the King did so
most of those two and twenty years of
his reign; but before he dismissed O&tavio
Baldi from his present attendance upon
him, he restored him to his old name of
Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him.

Not long after this, the King having resolved, according to his motto, (*Beati paci-*

pacifici) to have a friendship with his neighbour-kingdoms of France and Spain; and also, for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an alliance with the state of Venice, and to that end to send ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these employments to Sir Henry Wotton; who, considering the smallness of his own estate, (which he never took care to augment,) and knowing the courts of great princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his genius, who did ever love to join with business, study, and a trial of natural experiments; for both which, fruitful Italy, that darling of nature, and cherisher of all arts, is so justly famed in all parts of the Christian world.

Sir Henry having, after some short time and consideration, resolved upon Venice, and a large allowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a settled maintenance during his stay there, he left England, nobly accompanied through

through France to Venice, by gentlemen of the best families and breeding that this nation afforded : they were too many to name ; but these two, for the following reasons, may not be omitted. Sir Albertus Morton, his nephew, who went his secretary ; and William Bedel, a man of choice learning, and sanctified wisdom, who went his chaplain. And though his dear friend Dr. Donne (then a private gentleman) was not one of the number that did personally accompany him in this voyage, yet the reading of this following letter, sent by him to Sir Henry Wotton, the morning before he left England, may testify he wanted not his friend's best wishes to attend him.

SIR,

AFTER those reverend papers, whose soul is
Our good and great King's lov'd hand and fear'd name :
By which to you he derives much of his,
And how he may makes you almost the same ;

A taper of his torch ; a copy writ
From his original, and a fair beam

Of

Of the same warm and dazzling fun, though it
Must in another sphere his virtue stream :

After those learned papers, which your hand
Hath stor'd with notes of use and pleasure too ;
From which rich treasury you may command
Fit matter whether you will write or do :

After those loving papers which friends send
With glad grief to your seaward-steps farewell,
And thicken on you now as prayers ascend
To heaven on troops at a good man's passing-bell :

Admit this honest paper ; and allow
It such an audience as yourself would ask ;
What you would say at Venice this says now,
And has for nature what you have for task.

To swear much love ; nor to be chang'd before
Honour alone will to your fortune fit ;
Nor shall I then honour your fortune more,
Than I have done your honour-wanting wit.

But 'tis an easier load (though both opp'res)
To want, than govern greatness ; for we are
In that our own and only busin'ess ;
In this we must for others' vices care.

'Tis therefore well your spirits now are plac'd
In their last furnace, in activity,
Which fits them ; schools, and courts, and wars o'er-past
To touch and taste in any best degree.

For me! (if there be such a thing as I)
Fortune (if there be such a thing as she)
Finds that I bear so well her tyranny,
That she thinks nothing else so fit for me.

But though she part us, to hear my oft prayers
For your increase, God is as near me here:
And, to send you what I shall beg, his stairs
In length and ease are alike every where.

J. DONNE.

Sir Henry Wotton was received by the state of Venice with much honour and gladness, both for that he delivered his ambassage most elegantly in the Italian language, and came also in such a juncture of time, as his master's friendship seemed useful for that republic. The time of his coming thither was about the year 1604, Leonardo Donato being then Duke; a wise and resolved man, and to all purposes such (Sir Henry Wotton would often say it) as the state of Venice could not then have wanted; there having been formerly, in the time of Pope Clement the eighth, some contests about the privileges of churchmen, and the power of the

the civil magistrate ; of which, for the information of common readers, I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603, the republic of Venice made several injunctions against lay-persons giving lands or goods to the church, without licence from the civil magistrate ; and in that inhibition they expressed their reasons to be, “ For that “ when any goods or land once came “ into the hands of the ecclesiastics, it “ was not subject to alienation ; by reason “ whereof (the lay-people being at their “ death charitable even to excess) the “ clergy grew every day more numerous, “ and pretended an exemption from all “ public service and taxes, and from all “ secular judgment ; so that the burden “ grew thereby too heavy to be borne by “ the laity.”

Another occasion of difference was, that about this time complaints were justly made by the Venetians against two clergymen, the Abbot of Nervesa, and a Canon of Vicenza, for committing such sins

as I think not fit to name : nor are these mentioned with an intent to fix a scandal upon any calling ; for holiness is not tied to ecclesiastical orders, and Italy is observed to breed the most virtuous and most vicious men of any nation. These two having been long complained of at Rome in the name of the state of Venice, and no satisfaction being given to the Venetians, they seized the persons of this Abbot and Canon, and committed them to prison.

The justice or injustice of such or the like power, then used by the Venetians, had formerly had some calm debates betwixt the former Pope Clement the eighth and that republic : I say, calm, for he did not excommunicate them ; considering, as I conceive, that in the late council of Trent it was at last, (after many politic disturbances and delays, and endeavours to preserve the Pope's present power,) in order to a general reformation of those many errors, which were in time crept into the church, declared by that council, “ That though discipline and especial ex-

" communication be one of the chief
" news of church-government, and in-
" tended to keep men in obedience to it;
" for which end it was declared to be
" very profitable: yet it was also de-
" clared, and advised to be used with
" great sobriety and care, because expe-
" rience had informed them, that when it
" was pronounced unadvisedly or rashly,
" it became more contemned than fear-
" ed." And, though this was the advice
of that council at the conclusion of it,
which was not many years before this
quarrel with the Venetians; yet this pru-
dent, patient Pope Clement dying, Pope
Paul the fifth, who succeeded him, (though
not immediately, yet in the same year,)
being a man of a much hotter temper,
brought this difference with the Vene-
tians to a much higher contention; ob-
jecting those late acts of that state to be
a diminution of his just power, and limit-
ed a time of twenty-four days for their
revocation; threatening, if he were not
obeyed, to proceed to the excommunication
of the republic, who still offered to shew
both

both reason and ancient custom to warrant their actions. But this Pope, contrary to his predecessor's moderation, required absolute obedience without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year, the Pope still threatening excommunication, and the Venetians still answering him with fair speeches, and no compliance; till at last the Pope's zeal to the Apostolic see did make him to excommunicate the Duke, the whole senate, and all their dominions, and, that done, to shut up all their churches; charging the whole clergy to forbear all sacred offices to the Venetians, till their obedience should render them capable of absolution.

But this act of the Pope's did but the more confirm the Venetians in their resolution not to obey him: and to that end, upon the hearing of the Pope's interdict, they presently published, by sound of trumpet, a proclamation to this effect:

“ That whosoever hath received from
“ Rome any copy of a papal interdict,

“ published there, as well against the law
“ of God, as against the honour of this
“ nation, shall presently render it to the
“ Council of Ten, upon pain of death.
“ And made it loss of estate and nobility,
“ but to speak in the behalf of the Je-
“ suits.”

Then was Duado their ambassador called home from Rome, and the inquisition presently suspended by order of the state; and the flood-gates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scoffing wit, might safely vent it against the Pope, either by free speaking, or by libels in print; and both became very pleasant to the people.

Matters thus heightened, the state advised with father Paul, a holy and learned friar, (the author of the History of the Council of Trent,) whose advice was,
“ Neither to provoke the Pope, nor lose
“ their own right:” he declaring publicly in print, in the name of the state,
“ That the Pope was trusted to keep two
“ keys, one of *prudence*, and the other of
“ power:

“ *power* : and that, if they were not both
“ used together, *power* alone is not ef-
“ fectual in an excommunication.”

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued, till a report was blown abroad, that the Venetians were all turned Protestants ; which was believed by many, for that it was observed that the English ambassador was so often in conference with the senate, and his chaplain Mr. Bedel more often with father Paul, whom the people did not take to be his friend : and also, for that the republic of Venice was known to give commission to Gregory Justiniano, then their ambassador in England, to make all these proceedings known to the King of England, and to crave a promise of his assistance, if need should require : and in the mean time they required the King’s advice and judgment ; which was the same that he gave to Pope Clement, at his first coming to the crown of England ; (that Pope then moving him to an union with the Roman church;) namely, “ To
“ endeavour the calling of a free council,

“ for the settlement of peace in Christen-
“ dom ; and that he doubted not but
“ that the French King, and divers other
“ princes, would join to assist in so good a
“ work ; and, in the mean time, the fin
“ of this breach, both with his and the
“ Venetian dominions, must of necessity
“ lie at the Pope’s door.”

In this contention (which lasted almost two years) the Pope grew still higher, and the Venetians more and more resolved and careless ; still acquainting King James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians did then call to be one of their consulters of state, and with his pen to defend their just cause : which was by him so performed, that the Pope saw plainly he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians absolution upon very easy terms ; which the Venetians still slighting, did at last obtain by that which was scarce so much as a shew of acknowledging it : for they made an order, that in that day in which

they

they were absolved, there should be no public rejoicing, nor any bonfires that night, lest the common people might judge, that they desired an absolution, or were absolved for committing a fault.

These contests were the occasion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and interest with King James; for whose sake principally Padre Paulo compiled that eminent history of the remarkable council of Trent; which history was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto King James, and the then Bishop of Canterbury, into England, and there first made public, both in English and in the universal language.

For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he stood fair and highly valued in the King's opinion; but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta, where having been

in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingenuity, (those that are esteemed the virtuosi of that nation,) with whom he passing an evening in merriments, was requested by Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his Albo ; (a book of white paper, which for that purpose many of the German gentry usually carry about them :) and Sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion, from some accidental discourse of the present company, to write a pleasant definition of an ambassador in these very words :

“ Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentien-
“ dum reipublicæ causâ.”

Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished :

“ An ambassador is an honest man, sent to lie abroad
“ for the good of his country.”

But the word for *lie* (being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn) was not so expressed in Latin, as would admit (in the hands of an enemy especially) so fair

fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other sentences in this Albo, almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit and a malicious pen ; who, with books against King James, prints this as a principle of that religion professed by the King, and his ambassador Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice; and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in Sir Henry Wotton, as caused the King to express much wrath against him : and this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two Apologies, one to Velserus (one of the chiefs of Augusta) in the universal language, which he caused to be printed, and given and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote against the venomous

nomous books of Scioppius ; and another Apology to King James ; which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure judge of it) could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, “ That Sir Henry Wotton had commuted “ sufficiently for a greater offence.”

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesty’s estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And as that man of great wit and useful fancy (his friend Dr. Donne) gave in a will of his (a will of conceits) his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes, because from thence he received both ; so those friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wotton’s, were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued : and those acquaintance, that urged this ~~as~~ an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error

error can bring forth) for the future to become more industriously watchful over his tongue and pen.

I have told you a part of his employment in Italy; where, notwithstanding the death of his favourer, the Duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undissembled affection for him, and the malicious accusation of Scioppius, yet his interest (as though it had been an intailed love) was still found to live and increase in all the succeeding dukes, during his employment to that state, which was almost twenty years; all which time he studied the dispositions of those dukes, and the other consulters of state; well knowing that he who negotiates a continued business, and neglects the study of dispositions, usually fails in his proposed ends. But in this Sir Henry Wotton did not fail; for by a fine sorting of fit presents, curious and not costly entertainments, always sweetened by various and pleasant discourse—with which, and his choice application of stories, and his elegant delivery of all these, even in their Italian language, he first got, and still

still preserved, such interest in the state of Venice, that it was observed (such was either his merit or his modesty) they never denied him any request.

But all this shews but his abilities, and his fitness for that employment : it will therefore be needful to tell the reader, what use he made of the interest which these procured him : and that indeed was, rather to oblige others than to enrich himself ; he still endeavouring that the reputation of the English might be maintained, both in the German empire and in Italy ; where many gentlemen, whom travel had invited into that nation, received from him cheerful entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and by his interest shelter or deliverance from those accidental storms of adversity which usually attend upon travel.

And because these things may appear to the reader to be but generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular examples ; one of his merciful disposition, and one of the nobleness of his mind ; which shall follow.

There

There had been many English soldiers brought by commanders of their own country, to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turk: and those English having by irregularities, or improvidence, brought themselves into several galleys and prissons, Sir Henry Wotton became a petitioner to that state for their lives and enlargement; and his request was granted: so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad examples of human misery, by hard imprisonment and unpitied poverty in a strange nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable condition sent to thank God and him for their lives and liberty in their own country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate nature of him, who was, during his stay in those parts, as a city of refuge for the distressed of this and other nations.

And for that which I offer as a testimony of the nobleness of his mind, I shall make way to the reader's clearer understanding of it, by telling him, that, beside several

several other foreign employments, Sir Henry Wotton was sent thrice ambassador to the republic of Venice. And at his last going thither, he was employed ambassador to several of the German princes, and more particularly to the Emperor Ferdinand the second; and that his employment to him, and those princes, was to incline them to equitable conditions for the restoration of the Queen of Bohemia, and her descendants, to their patrimonial inheritance of the Palatinate.

This was, by his eight months' constant endeavours and attendance upon the Emperor, his court, and council, brought to a probability of a successful conclusion, without bloodshed. But there were at that time two opposite armies in the field; and as they were treating, there was a battle fought, in the managery whereof there were so many miserable errors on the one side, (so Sir Henry Wotton expresses it in a dispatch to the King) and so advantageous events to the Emperor, as put an end to all present hopes of a successful treaty; so that Sir Henry, seeing the face
of

of peace altered by that victory, prepared for a removal from that Court ; and at his departure from the Emperor, was so bold as to remember him, “ That the events of every battle move on the unseen wheels of Fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next ; and therefore humbly advised him to use his victory so soberly, as still to put on thoughts of peace.” Which advice, though it seemed to be spoken with some passion, (his dear mistress the Queen of Bohemia being concerned in it) was yet taken in good part by the Emperor ; who replied, “ That he would consider his advice. And though he looked on the King his master as an abettor of his enemy, the Paulsgrave ; yet for Sir Henry himself, his behaviour had been such during the manage of the treaty, that he took him to be a person of much honour and merit ; and did therefore desire him to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his good opinion of him :” which was a jewel of diamonds of more value than a thousand pounds.

This

This jewel was received with all outward circumstances and terms of honour by Sir Henry Wotton. But the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he, at his taking leave of the Countess of Sabrina, (an Italian lady, in whose house the Emperor had appointed him to be lodged, and honourably entertained) “ acknowledged her merits, and be-“ sought her to accept of that jewel, as a “ testimony of his gratitude for her civi-“ lities ;” presenting her with the same that was given him by the Emperor : which being suddenly discovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir Henry Wotton told so by a messenger. To which he replied, “ That though he received it “ with thankfulness, yet he found in him-“ self an indisposition to be the better for “ any gift that came from an enemy to “ his royal mistress, the Queen of Bohe-“ mia ;” for so she was pleased he should always call her.

Many other of his services to his Prince and this nation might be insisted upon;
as,

as, namely, his procurations of privileges and courtesies with the German princes, and the republic of Venice, for the English merchants; and what he did by direction of King James with the Venetian State, concerning the Bishop of Spalato's return to the Church of Rome. But for the particulars of these, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some papers that might inform me, (his late Majesty's letter-of-fice having now suffered a strange alienation,) and indeed I want time too; for the printer's press stays for what is written: so that I must haste to bring Sir Henry Wotton in an instant from Venice to London, leaving the reader to make up what is defective in this place, by the small supplement of the inscription under his arms, which he left at all those houses where he rested, or lodged, when he returned from his last embassy into England.

“ Henricus Wottonius Anglo-Cantianus,
“ Thomæ optimi viri filius natu minimus,
“ à serenissimo Jacobo I. Mag. Brit.

“ Rege, in equestrem titulum adscitus,
“ ejusdemque ter ad rempublicam Vene-
“ tam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad con-
“ foederatarum Provinciarum Ordines in
“ Juliacensi negotio. Bis ad Carolum
“ Emanuel, Sabaudiæ Ducem ; semel ad
“ unitos superioris Germaniæ Principes in
“ Conventu Heilbrunensi, postremo ad
“ Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wit-
“ tembergensem, Civitates imperiales, Ar-
“ gentinam, Ulmamque, et ipsum Roma-
“ norum Imperatorem Ferdinandum se-
“ cundum, Legatus Extraordinarius, tan-
“ dem hoc didicit,

“ Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo.”

To London he came the year before King James died ; who having, for the reward of his foreign service, promised him the reversion of an office, which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted, for a supply of his present necessities ; and also granted him the reversion of the Master of the Rolls place, if he outlived charitable Sir Julius Cæsar, who then possessed it, and then grown so old,

old, that he was said to be kept alive beyond nature's course, by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

But these were but in hope ; and his condition required a present support : for in the beginning of these employments he sold to his elder brother, the Lord Wotton, the rent-charge left by his good father ; and (which is worse) was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfy, but by the King's payment of his arrears, due for his foreign employments. He had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian artists : this was part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day : for it may by no means be said of his providence, as himself said of Sir Philip Sidney's wit, " That it was the very measure of " congruity," he being always so careless of money, as though our Saviour's words, " Care not for to-morrow," were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of providence, that in this juncture of time the Provostship of his Majesty's College of Eton became void by the death of Mr. Thomas Murray, for which there were (as the place deserved) many earnest and powerful suitors to the King. And Sir Henry, who had for many years (like Sisyphus) rolled the restless stone of a state-employment, knowing experimentally that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business, and that a college was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest both to his body and mind, which his age (being now almost three-score years) seemed to require, did therefore use his own, and the interest of all his friends, to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the King of his promised reverisionary offices, and a piece of honest policy, (which I have not time to relate,) he got a grant of it from his Majesty.

And this was a fair satisfaction to his mind : but money was wanting to furnish him

him with those necessaries which attend removes, and a settlement in such a place; and, to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. Nicholas Pey, for his assistance. Of which Nicholas Pey I shall here say a little, for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a clerk, or in some such way a servant to the Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's brother; and by him, when he was Comptroller of the King's household, was made a great officer in his Majesty's house. This and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey (in whom there was a radical honesty) were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude expressed by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that family even till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote, to use all his interest at Court, to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears, (for less would not settle him in the college); and the want of such a sum "wrinkled his face with care;" ('twas his own expression,) and, that money being procured, he should the next

day after find him in his college, and “*Invidiæ remedium*” writ over his study door.

This money, being part of his arrears, was, by his own and the help of honest Nicholas Pey’s interest in Court, quickly procured him, and he as quickly in the college; the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginning; the college being to his mind as a quiet harbour to a sea-faring man after a tempestuous voyage; where, by the bounty of the pious founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more money than enough; where he was freed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a rock, as the waves of want could not probably shake; where he might sit in a calm, and, looking down, behold the busy multitude turmoiled and tossed in a tempestuous sea of trouble and dangers; and (as Sir William Davenant has happily expressed the like of another person)

“ Laugh at the graver business of the State,
“ Which speaks men rather wise than fortunate.”

Being

Being thusa settled according to the defires of his heart, his first study was the statutes of the college; by which he conceived himself bound to enter into holy orders, which he did, being made deacon with all convenient speed. Shortly after which time, as he came in his surplice from the church-service, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit. To whom Sir Henry Wotton replied, "I thank
" God and the King, by whose goodness
" I now am in this condition; a condi-
" tion which that Emperor Charles the
" fifth seemed to approve; who, after so
" many remarkable victories, when his
" glory was great in the eyes of all men,
" freely gave up his crown, and the many
" cares that attended it, to Philip his son,
" making a holy retreat to a cloistral
" life, where he might, by devout medi-
" tations, consult with God," which the
rich or busy men seldom do; "and have
" leisure both to examine the errors of
" his life past, and prepare for that great
" day, wherein all flesh must make an ae-

" count of their actions: and after a kind
" of tempestuous life, I now have the
" like advantage from him, that makes
" *the outgoings of the morning to praise*
" *him*; even from my God, whom I daily
" magnify for this particular mercy of
" an exemption from busines, a quiet
" mind, and a liberal maintenance, even
" in this part of my life, when my age
" and infirmities seem to found me a re-
" treat from the pleasures of this world,
" and invite me to contemplation, in
" which I have ever taken the greatest
" felicity."

And now to speak a little of the em-
ployment of his time in the college. After
his customary public devotions, his use
was to retire into his study, and there to
spend some hours in reading the Bible,
and authors in divinity, closing up his
meditations with private prayer. This
was, for the most part, his employment
in the forenoon. But when he was once
sat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful
thoughts possessed his mind, and those
still increased by constant company at his
table,

table, of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure : but some part of most days was usually spent in philosophical conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of angling, which he would usually call, “ his ‘idle time not idly spent;’” saying often, he would rather live five May months than forty Decembers.

He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table, where his meat was choice, and his discourse better.

He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a genius that prompted them to learning ; for whose encouragement he was (beside many other things of necessity and beauty) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators ; persuading them not to neglect rhetoric, because Almighty God has left mankind affections to be wrought

wrought upon : and he would often say ;
“ That none despised eloquence, but such
“ dull souls as were not capable of it.”
He would also often make choice of some
observations out of those historians and
poets ; and would never leave the school,
without dropping some choice Greek or
Latin apophthegm or sentence, that might
be worthy of a room in the memory of a
growing scholar.

He was pleased constantly to breed up
one or more hopeful youths, which he
picked out of the school, and took into
his own domestic care, and to attend him
at his meals ; out of whose discourse and
behaviour he gathered observations for
the better completing of his intended
work of education : of which, by his still
striving to make the whole better, he
lived to leave but part to posterity.

He was a great enemy to wrangling
disputes of religion ; concerning which I
shall say a little, both to testify that, and
to shew the readiness of his wit.

Having at his being in Rome made ac-
quaintance with a pleasant priest, who in-
vited

vited him one evening to hear their vesper music at church ; the priest seeing Sir Henry stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a boy of the choir this question, writ in a small piece of paper :
“ Where was your religion to be found
“ before Luther ? ” To which question Sir Henry presently underwrit, “ My reli-
“ gion was to be found then, where
“ yours is not to be found now, in the
“ written word of God.”

The next vesp̄er, Sir Henry went purposely to the same church, and sent one of the choir-boys with this question to his honest, pleasant friend, the priest :
“ Do you believe all those many thou-
“ sands of poor Christians were damned,
“ that were excommunicated because the
“ Pope and the Duke of Venice could
“ not agree about their temporal power ? ”
“ even those poor Christians that knew
“ not why they quarrelled. Speak your
“ conscience.” To which he underwrit in French, “ Monsieur, excusez-moi.”

To one that asked him, “ Whether a
“ Papist may be saved ? ” he replied, “ You
“ may

“ may be saved without knowing that,
“ Look to yourself.”

To another, whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice : “ Pray, “ Sir, forbear till you have studied the “ points better ; for the wise Italians have “ this proverb : He that understands amiss “ concludes worse. And take heed of “ thinking, the farther you go from the “ church of Rome, the nearer you are to “ God.”

And to another, that spake indiscreet and bitter words against Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpose :

“ In my travel towards Venice, as I “ passed through Germany, I rested almost “ a year at Leyden, where I entered into “ an acquaintance with Arminius, (then “ the Professor of Divinity in that Uni- “ versity,) a man much talked of in this “ age, which is made up of opposition “ and controversy. And indeed, if I mis- “ take not Arminius in his expressions, “ (as so weak a brain as mine is may “ easily do,) then I know I differ from
“ him

“ him in some points: yet I profess my
“ judgment of him to be, that he was a
“ man of most rare learning, and I knew
“ him to be of a most strict life, and of a
“ most meek spirit. And that he was so
“ mild appears by his proposals to our
“ Master Perkins of Cambridge, from
“ whose book, ‘ Of the Order and Causes
“ of Salvation’ (which was first writ in
“ Latin) Arminius took the occasion of
“ writing some queries to him concern-
“ ing the consequence of his doctrine;
“ intending them, it is said, to come pri-
“ vately to Mr. Perkins’s own hands,
“ and to receive from him a like private
“ and a like loving answer. But Mr.
“ Perkins died before those queries came
“ to him; and it is thought Arminius
“ meant them to die with him: for
“ though he lived long after, I have
“ heard he forbore to publish them: but
“ since his death his sons did not. And it
“ is a pity, if God had been so pleased,
“ that Mr. Perkins did not live to see,
“ consider, and answer those proposals
“ himself; for he was also of a most meek
“ spirit,

bertus Morton, went his secretary : and I am next to tell you, that Sir Albertus died secretary of state to our late King ; but cannot, am not able to express the sorrow that possessed Sir Henry Wotton, at his first hearing the news that Sir Albertus was by death lost to him and this world. And yet the reader may partly guess by these following expressions : the first in a letter to his Nicholas Pey, of which this that followeth is a part.

“ ——And, my dear Nick, when I had
“ been here almost a fortnight, in the
“ midst of my great contentment, I receiv-
“ ed notice of Sir Albertus Morton’s depar-
“ ture out of this world, who was dearer
“ to me than mine own being in it.
“ What a wound it is to my heart, you
“ that knew him, and know me, will
“ easily believe : but our Creator’s will
“ must be done, and unrepiningly receiv-
“ ed by his own creatures, who is the
“ Lord of all nature and of all fortune;
“ when he taketh to himself now one,
“ and then another, till that expected
“ day, wherein it shall please him to dis-
“ solve

“ solve the whole, and wrap up even the
 “ heaven itself as a scroll of parchment.
 “ This is the last philosophy that we must
 “ study upon earth. Let us therefore, that
 “ yet remain here, as our days and friends
 “ waste, reinforce our love to each other;
 “ which of all virtues, both spiritual and
 “ moral, hath the highest privilege, be-
 “ cause death itself cannot end it. And
 “ my good Nick,” &c.

This is a part of his sorrow thus expressed to his Nick Pey: the other part is in this following elegy, of which the reader may safely conclude it was too hearty to be dissembled.

TEARS

WEPT AT THE GRAVE OF SIR ALBERTUS MORTON, BY HENRY WOTTON.

SILENCE, in truth, would speak my sorrow best,
 For deepest wounds can least their feelings tell:
 Yet let me borrow from mine own unrest
 A time to bid him, whom I lov'd, farewell.

Oh, my unhappy lines! you that before
 Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cries,
 And now, congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore
 Strength to accent, “ Here my Albertus lies.”

This is that sable stone, this is the cave
 And womb of earth, that doth his corpse embrace :
 While others sing his praise, let me engrave
 These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the characters of woe ;
 Here will I pay my tribute to the dead ;
 And here my faithful TEARS in showers shall flow,
 To humanize the flints on which I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchless loss alone,
 And none between my weakness judge and me ;
 Yet even these pensive walls allow my moan,
 Whose doleful echoes to my plaints agree.

But is he gone ? and live I rhyming here,
 As if some Muse would listen to my lay ?
 When all distun'd sit waiting for their dear,
 And bathe the banks where he was wont to play.

Dwell then in endless bliss with happy souls,
 Discharg'd from Nature's and from Fortune's trust ;
 Whilst on this fluid globe my hour-glass rolls,
 And runs the rest of my remaining dust. H. W.

This concerning his Sir Albertus Morton.

And for what I shall say concerning Mr. William Bedel, I must prepare the reader by telling him, that when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton ambassador

dor to the state of Venice, he sent also an ambassador to the King of France, and another to the King of Spain. With the ambassador of France went Joseph Hall, late Bishop of Norwich, whose many and useful works speak his great merit: with the ambassador of Spain went James Wadsworth; and with Sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel.

These three chaplains to these three ambassadors were all bred in one University, all of one college^a, all beneficed in one diocese, and all most dear and entire friends. But in Spain Mr. Wadsworth met with temptations, or reasons, such as were so powerful as to persuade him (who of the three was formerly observed to be the most averse to that religion that calls itself Catholic) to disclaim himself a member of the Church of England, and declare himself for the Church of Rome; discharging himself of his attendance on the ambassador, and betaking himself to

^a Emanuel College in Cambridge.

a monasterial life, in which he lived very regularly, and so died.

When Dr. Hall, the late Bishop of Norwich, came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadsworth, (it is the first epistle in his printed decades,) to persuade his return, or to shew the reason of his apostasy. The letter seemed to have in it many sweet expressions of love; and yet there was in it some expression that was so unpleasant to Mr. Wadsworth, that he chose rather to acquaint his old friend Mr. Bedel with his motives; by which means there passed betwixt Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadsworth divers letters, which being extant in print, and did well deserve it; for in them there seems to be a controversy, not of religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness; which I mention the rather, because it too seldom falls out to be so in a book-war.

There is yet a little more to be said of Mr. Bedel, for the greatest part of which the reader is referred to this following letter

letter of Sir Henry Wotton's, written to our late King Charles the first :

“ May it please Your most Gracious Majesty,

“ Having been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither, with a most humble petition unto your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedel (now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk) Governor of your college at Dublin, for the good of that society; and myself being required to render unto your Majesty some testimony of the said William Bedel, who was long my chaplain at Venice, in the time of my first employment there, I am bound in all conscience and truth (so far as your Majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor judgment) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter man for that charge could have been propounded unto your Majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the church,

“ and zeal to advance the cause of God,
“ wherein his travels abroad were not ob-
“ scure in the time of the excommuni-
“ cation of the Venetians.

“ For it may please your Majesty to
“ know, that this is the man whom Padre
“ Paulo took, I may say, into his very
“ soul, with whom he did communicate
“ the inwardest thoughts of his heart ;
“ from whom he professed to have re-
“ ceived more knowledge in all divinity,
“ both scholastical and positive, than from
“ any that he had ever practised in his
“ days ; of which all the passages were
“ well known to the King your father,
“ of most blessed memory. And so, with
“ your Majesty’s good favour, I will end
“ this needless office ; for the general
“ fame of his learning, his life, and Chris-
“ tian temper, and those religious labours
“ which himself hath dedicated to your
“ Majesty, do better describe him than I
“ am able.

“ Your Majesty’s
“ Most humble and faithful servant,
“ H. WOTTON.”

To

To this letter I shall add this ; that he was (to the great joy of Sir Henry Wotton) made governor of the said college^a; and that, after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence removed to be Bishop of Kilmore^b. In both which places his life was so holy, as seemed to equal the primitive Christians : for as they, so he kept all the Ember-weeks, observed (besides his private devotions) the canonical hours of prayer very strictly, and so he did all the feasts and fast-days of his mother, the Church of England. To which I may add, that his patience and charity were both such as shewed his affections were set upon *tthings that are above* ; for indeed his whole life brought forth the *fruits of the spirit* ; there being in him such a remarkable meekness, that as St. Paul advised his Timothy in the election of a bishop, *Tbat be have a good report of tbose tbat be without*^c; so had he: for those that were without, even those that in point of

^a Aug. 1627.

^b Sept. 3, 1629.

^c 1 Tim. iii. 7.

religion were of the Roman persuasion, (of which there were very many in his diocese,) did yet (such is the power of visible piety) ever look upon him with respect and reverence, and testified it by a concealing and safe protecting him from death in the late horrid rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Irish knew no distinction of persons ; and yet there and then he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary persuasion ; and there and then he died, not by violence or misusage, but by grief in a quiet prison (1629). And with him was lost many of his learned writings, which were thought worthy of preservation ; and amongst the rest was lost the Bible, which by many years labour, and conference, and study, he had translated into the Irish tongue, with an intent to have printed it for public use.

More might be said of Mr. Bedel, who, I told the reader, was Sir Henry Wotton's first chaplain ; and much of his second chaplain, Isaac Bargrave, Doctor in Divinity, and the late learned and hospitable
Dean

Dean of Canterbury; as also of the merits of many others, that had the happiness to attend Sir Henry in his foreign employments: but the reader may think that in this digression I have already carried him too far from Eton College, and therefore I shall lead him back as gently and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had proposed to himself, before he entered into his collegiate life, to write the life of Martin Luther, and in it the history of the reformation, as it was carried on in Germany: for the doing of which he had many advantages by his several embassies into those parts, and his interest in the several princes of the empire; by whose means he had access to the records of all the Hans towns, and the knowledge of many secret passages that fell not under common view; and in these he had made a happy progress, as is well known to his worthy friend Dr. Duppa, the late reverend Bishop of Salisbury. But in the midst of

this

this design, his late Majesty King Charles the first, that knew the value of Sir Henry Wotton's pen, did by a persuafive loving violence (to which may be added a promise of 500l. a year) force him to lay Luther aside, and betake himself to write the history of England ; in which he proceeded to write some short characters of a few kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build ; but, for the present, meant to be more large in the story of Henry the sixth, the founder of that college, in which he then enjoyed all the worldly happiness of his present being. But Sir Henry died in the midst of this undertaking, and the footsteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence.

This is some account both of his inclination, and the employment both of his time in the college, where he seemed to have his youth renewed by a continual conversation with that learned society, and a daily recourse of other friends of choicest breeding and parts ; by which that

that great blessing of a cheerful heart was still maintained ; he being always free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishnes which usually attends age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damped by the remembrance of divers old debts, partly contracted in his foreign employments, for which his just arrears due from the King would have made satisfaction : but being still delayed with court-promises, and finding some decays of health, he did, about two years before his death, out of a Christian desire that none should be a loser by him, make his last will ; concerning which a doubt still remains, namely, whether it discovered more holy wit, or consonable policy. But there is no doubt, but that his chief design was a Christian endeavour that his debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as such a testimony, and a legacy to those that loved him, I shall here impart it to the reader, as it was found written with his own hand.

“ IN

“ In the name of God almighty and
“ all-merciful, I Henry Wotton, Provost
“ of his Majesty’s college by Eaton, be-
“ ing mindful of mine own mortality;
“ which the sin of our first parents did
“ bring upon all flesh, do by this last will
“ and testament thus dispose of myself,
“ and the poor things I shall leave in this
“ world. My soul I bequeath to the im-
“ mortal God my Maker, Father of our
“ Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeem-
“ er and Mediator, through his all-sote
“ sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the
“ whole world, and efficient for his elect;
“ in the number of whom I am one by
“ his mere grace, and thereof most unre-
“ moveably assured by his holy Spirit,
“ the true eternal Comforter. My body
“ I bequeath to the earth, if I shall end
“ my transitory days at or near Eaton, to
“ be buried in the chapel of the said col-
“ lege, as the fellows shall dispose there-
“ of, with whom I have lived (my God
“ knows) in all loving affection.; or if I
“ shall die near Boston Malherb, in the
“ county

“ county of Kent, then I wish to be laid
 “ in that parish-church, as near as may be
 “ to the sepulchre of my good Father,
 “ expecting a joyful resurrection with
 “ him in the day of Christ.”

After this account of his faith, and this surrender of his soul to that God that inspired it, and this direction for the disposal of his body, he proceeded to appoint that his executors should lay over his grave a marble stone, plain, and not costly: and considering that time moulders even marble to dust, (for ^a “ Monuments themselves must die;”) therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name (to which the son of Sirac adviseth all men) by a useful apophthegm, than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits, of both which he might justly have boasted; but he was content to forget them, and did choose only this prudent, pious sentence, to discover his disposition, and preserve his memory. It was directed by him to be thus inscribed:

^a Juven. Sat. x. 146.

MIC JACET HUJUS SENTENTIA^E PRIMUS A^THOR:
 DISPUTANDI PRURITUS, ECCLESiarum SCA-
 BIES.

NOMEN ALIAS QU^ERE.

Which may be Englished thus:

HERE LIES THE FIRST AUTHOR OF THIS SENTENCE:
 THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE
 SCAB OF THE CHURCH.

INQUIRE HIS NAME ELSEWHERE.

And if any shall object, as I think some have, that Sir Henry Wotton was not the first author of this sentence; but that this, or a sentence like it, was long before his time; to him I answer, that Solomon says, *Nothing can be spoken, that hath not been spoken; for there is no new thing under the sun.* But grant, that in his various reading he had met with this or a like sentence, yet reason mixed with charity should persuade all readers to believe, that Sir Henry Wotton's mind was then so fixed on that part of the communion of Saints which is above, that an holy lethargy did surprise his memory. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the first author of what he said, he was

was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the public view and censure of every critic. And questionless it will be charity in all readers to think his mind was then so fixed on heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him ; and that, in this sacred ecstasy, his thoughts were then only of the church triumphant, into which he daily expected his admission ; and that Almighty God was then pleased to make him a prophet, to tell the church militant, and particularly that part of it in this nation, where the weeds of controversy grow to be daily both more numerous and more destructive to humble piety ; and where men have consciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sin to think ; and where, as our reverend Hooker says, “ former simplicity, “ and softness of spirit, is not now to be “ found, because zeal hath drowned char-“ rity, and skill meekness.” It will be good to think that these sad changes have proved this epitaph to be a useful caution

unto

unto us of this nation ; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have proved it to be a mournful truth.

This by way of observation concerning his epitaph ; the rest of his will follows in his own words.

“ Further, I the said Henry Wetton
“ do constitute and ordain to be joint ex-
“ ecutors of this my last will and testa-
“ ment, my two grand-nephews, Albert
“ Morton, second son to Sir Robert Mor-
“ ton, Knight, late deceased, and Thomas
“ Bargrave, eldest son to Dr. Bargrave,
“ Dean of Canterbury, husband to my
“ right virtuous and only niece. And I
“ do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave, and
“ Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful
“ and chosen friends, together with Mr.
“ John Harrison, one of the Fellows of
“ Eaton College, best acquainted with
“ my books and pictures, and other uten-
“ fils, to be supervisors of this my last
“ will and testament. And I do pray the
“ foresaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas
“ Pey, to be solicitors for such arrearages
“ as shall appear due unto me from his
“ Ma-

“ Majesty’s Exchequer at the time of my
“ death ; and to assist my forenamed ex-
“ ecutors in some reasonable and consci-
“ entious satisfaction of my creditors, and
“ discharge of my legacies now specified;
“ or that shall be hereafter added unto
“ this my testament, by any codicil or
“ schedule, or left in the hands, or in any
“ memorial with the aforesaid Mr. John
“ Harrison. And first, to my most dear
“ Sovereign and Master, of incomparable
“ goodness, (in whose gracious opinion I
“ have ever had some portion, as far as
“ the interest of a plain honest man,) I
“ leave four pictures at large of those
“ Dukes of Venice, in whose time I was
“ there employed, with their names writ-
“ ten on the backside, which hang in my
“ great ordinary dining-room, done after
“ the life by Edoardo Fialetto : like-
“ wise a table of the Venetian College,
“ where ambassadors had their audi-
“ ence, hanging over the mantle of the
“ chimney in the said room, done by the
“ same hand, which containeth a draught

“ in little, well resembling the famous
“ D. Leonardo Donato, in a time which
“ needed a wise and constant man. Item,
“ The picture of a Duke of Venice, hang-
“ ing over against the door, done either
“ by Titiano, or some other principal
“ hand, long before my time. Most hum-
“ bly beseeching his Majesty, that the
“ said pieces may remain in some corner
“ of any of his houses, for a poor me-
“ morial of his most humble vassal.

“ Item, I leave his said Majesty all the
“ papers and negociations of Sir Nicholas
“ Throgmorton, Knight, during his fa-
“ mous employment under Queen Eliza-
“ beth, in Scotland and in France; which
“ contain divers secrets of state, that per-
“ chance his Majesty will think fit to
“ be preserved in his Paper-office, after
“ they have been perused and sorted by
“ Mr. Secretary Windebank, with whom
“ I have heretofore, as I remember, con-
“ fered about them. They were com-
“ mitted to my disposal by Sir Arthur
“ Throgmorton his son, to whose worthy
“ me-

“ memory I cannot better discharge my
“ faith, than by assigning them to the
“ highest place of trust. Item, I leave to
“ our most gracious and virtuous Queen
“ Mary, Dioscorides, with the plants na-
“ turally coloured, and the text translated
“ by Matthiolo, in the best language of
“ Tuscany, whence her said Majesty is li-
“ neally descended, for a poor token of
“ my thankful devotion for the honour
“ she was once pleased to do my private
“ study with her presence. I leave to the
“ most hopeful Prince, the picture of
“ the elected and crowned Queen of
“ Bohemia, his aunt, of clear and re-
“ splendent virtues through the clouds of
“ her fortune. To my Lord’s Grace of
“ Canterbury now being, I leave my pic-
“ ture of Divine Love, rarely copied from
“ one in the King’s galleries, of my pre-
“ sentation to his Majesty ; beseeching
“ him to receive it as a pledge of my
“ humble reverence to his great wisdom.
“ And to the most worthy Lord Bishop of
“ London, Lord High Treasurer of Eng-
“ land, in true admiration of his Chris-

“ tian simplicity and contempt of earthly
“ pomp, I leave a picture of Heraclitus
“ bewailing, and Democritus laughing at,
“ the world: most humbly beseeching
“ the said Lord Archbishop his Grace,
“ and the Lord Bishop of London, of
“ both whose favours I have tasted in my
“ life-time, to intercede with our most
“ gracious Sovereign after my death, in
“ the bowels of Jesus Christ, that out of
“ compassionate memory of my long ser-
“ vices, (wherein I more studied the pub-
“ lic honour, than mine own utility,) some
“ order may be taken out of my ar-
“ rears due in the Exchequer, for such
“ satisfaction of my creditors, as those
“ whom I have ordained supervisors of
“ this my last will and testament shall
“ present unto their Lordships, without
“ their farther trouble; hoping likewise
“ in his Majesty’s most indubitable good-
“ ness, that he will keep me from all pre-
“ judice, which I may otherwise suffer
“ by any defect of formality in the de-
“ mand of my said arrears. To — for
“ a poor addition to his cabinet, I leave,
“ as

“as emblems of his attractive virtues
“and obliging nobleness, my great Load-
“stone, and a piece of Amber of both
“kinds naturally united, and only differ-
“ing in degree of concoction, which is
“thought somewhat rare. Item, a piece
“of Crystal Sexangular (as they grow
“all) grasping divers several things with-
“in it, which I bought among the Rhæ-
“tian Alps, in the very place where it
“grew; recommending most humbly
“unto his Lordship, the reputation of my
“poor name in the point of my debts, as
“I have done to the forenamed Spiritual
“Lords, and am heartily sorry that I have
“no better token of my humble thank-
“fulness to his honoured person. Item,
“I leave to Sir Francis Windebank, one
“of his Majesty’s principal Secretaries of
“State, (whom I found my great friend
“in point of necessity,) the four Seasons
“of old Bassano, to hang near the eye in
“his parlour, (being in little form,) which
“I bought at Venice, where I first enter-
“ed into his most worthy acquaintance.

“ To the abovenamed Dr. Bargrave,
“ Dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Ita-
“ lian books not disposed in this will. I
“ leave to him likewise my Viol de Gam-
“ ba, which hath been twice with me in
“ Italy, in which country I first contract-
“ ed with him an unremoveable affection.
“ To my other supervisor, Mr. Nicholas
“ Pey, I leave my Chest, or Cabinet of
“ Instruments and Engines of all kinds of
“ uses : in the lower box whereof are
“ some^a fit to be bequeathed to none but
“ so entire an honest man as he is. I
“ leave him likewise forty pounds for his
“ pains in the solicitation of my arrears ;
“ and am sorry that my ragged estate can
“ reach no further to one that hath taken
“ such care for me in the same kind, dur-
“ ing all my foreign employments. To
“ the Library at Eaton College I leave
“ all my Manuscripts not before disposed,
“ and to each of the Fellows a plain ring

^a In it were Italian locks, pick-locks, screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his foreign travel.

“ of

" of gold, enameled black, all save the
 " verge, with this motto within, *Amor*
 " *unit omnia.*

" This is my last will and testament,
 " save what shall be added by a schedule
 " thereunto annexed, written on the first of
 " October, in the present year of our Re-
 " demption, 1637, and subscribed by my-
 " self, with the testimony of these witnesses.

" HENRY WOTTON.

" Nich. Oudert.

" Geo. Lash."

AND now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of events, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his will did gladly receive their legacies : by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joined in assisting the overseers of his will ; and by their joint endeavours to the King (than whom none was more willing) conscientiable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the reader is, that he went usually

once a year, if not oftener, to the beloved Bocton Hall, where he would say, “ He “ found a cure for all cares, by the cheer-“ ful company,” which he called “ the “ living furniture of that place :” and “ a “ restoration of his strength, by the con-“ naturalness of” that which he called “ his genial air.”

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the summer before his death he changed that for a journey to Winchester College, to which school he was first removed from Bocton. And as he returned from Winchester towards Eton College, said to a friend, his companion in that journey ; “ How useful was that advice of a holy “ Monk, who persuaded his friend to per-“ form his customary devotions in a con-“ stant place, because in that place we “ usually meet with those very thoughts “ which possessed us at our last being there ! “ And I find it thus far experimen-“ tally true, that at my now being in “ that school, and seeing that very place “ where I sat when I was a boy, occa-“ sioned me to remember those very “ thoughts

“ thoughts of my youth which then possessed me : sweet thoughts indeed, that “ promised my growing years numerous “ pleasures, without mixtures of cares, “ and those to be enjoyed, when time “ (which I therefore thought slow paced) “ had changed my youth into manhood. “ But age and experience have taught “ me that those were but empty hopes ; “ for I have always found it true, as my “ Saviour did foretel, *Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.* Nevertheless, I saw “ there a succession of boys using the same “ recreations, and, questionless, possessed “ with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus one generation suc- “ ceeds another, both in their lives, re- “ creations, hopes, fears, and death.”

After his return from Winchester to Eton, which was about five months before his death, he became much more retired and contemplative ; in which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales, (the learned Mr. John Hales,) then a Fellow of that College, to whom upon an occasion he spake to this purpose : “ I
“ have,

“ have, in my passage to my grave, met
“ with most of those joys of which a dis-
“ courfive soul is capable ; and been en-
“ tertained with more inferior pleasures
“ than the sons of men are usually made
“ partakers of : nevertheless in this voy-
“ age I have not always floated on the
“ calm sea of content ; but have often
“ met with cross winds and storms, and
“ with many troubles of mind and temp-
“ tations to evil. And yet, though I
“ have been and am a man compassed
“ about with human frailties, Almighty
“ God hath by his grace prevented me
“ from making *shipwreck of faith and a*
“ *good conscience*, the thought of which
“ is now the joy of my heart, and I most
“ humbly praise him for it : and I hum-
“ bly acknowledge that it was not my-
“ self, but he that hath kept me to this
“ great age, and let him take the glory
“ of his great mercy.—And, my dear
“ friend, I now see that I draw near my
“ harbour of death ; that harbour that
“ will secure me from all the future storms
“ and waves of this restless world ; and I
“ praise

"praise God I am willing to leave it, and
"expect a better; that world wherein
"dwelleth righteousness; and I long for
"it."

These and the like expressions were then uttered by him at the beginning of a feverish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an asthma, or short spitting: but after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar physic and a spare diet, this fever abated, yet so as to leave him much weaker than it found him; and his asthma seemed also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing tobacco, which, as many thoughtful men do, he also had taken somewhat immoderately. This was his then present condition, and thus he continued till about the end of October, 1639, which was about a month before his death, at which time he again fell into a fever, which though he seemed to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they and those other common infirmities that accompany age, and were wont to visit him like civil friends,

friends, and after some short time to leave him, came now both oftener and with more violence, and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakening his body and abating his cheerfulness ; of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftener retire into his study, and there made many papers that had passed his pen, both in the days of his youth and in the busy part of his life, useless, by a fire made there to that purpose. These, and several unusual expressions to his servants and friends, seemed to foretel that the day of his death drew near ; for which he seemed to those many friends that observed him, to be well prepared, and to be both patient and free from all fear, as several of his letters writ on this his last sick-bed may testify. And thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seized more violently with a quotidian fever, in the tenth fit of which fever, his better part, that part of Sir Henry Wotton which could not die, put off

off mortality with as much content and cheerfulness as human frailty is capable of, being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man.

And thus the circle of Sir Henry Wotton's life—that circle which began at Bocton, and in the circumference thereof did first touch at Winchester School, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom—that circle of his life was by death thus closed up and completed, in the seventy-second year of his age, at Eton College, where, according to his will, he now lies buried, with his motto on a plain grave-stone over him : dying worthy of his name and family, worthy of the love and favour of so many princes, and persons of eminent wisdom and learning, worthy of the trust committed unto him, for the service of his prince and country.

And all readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy pen, to have preserved his memory,
and

and commended his merits to the imitation of posterity.

Iz. Wa.

AN
ELEGY ON SIR HENRY WOTTON,
WRIT BY
MR. ABRAM COWLEY.

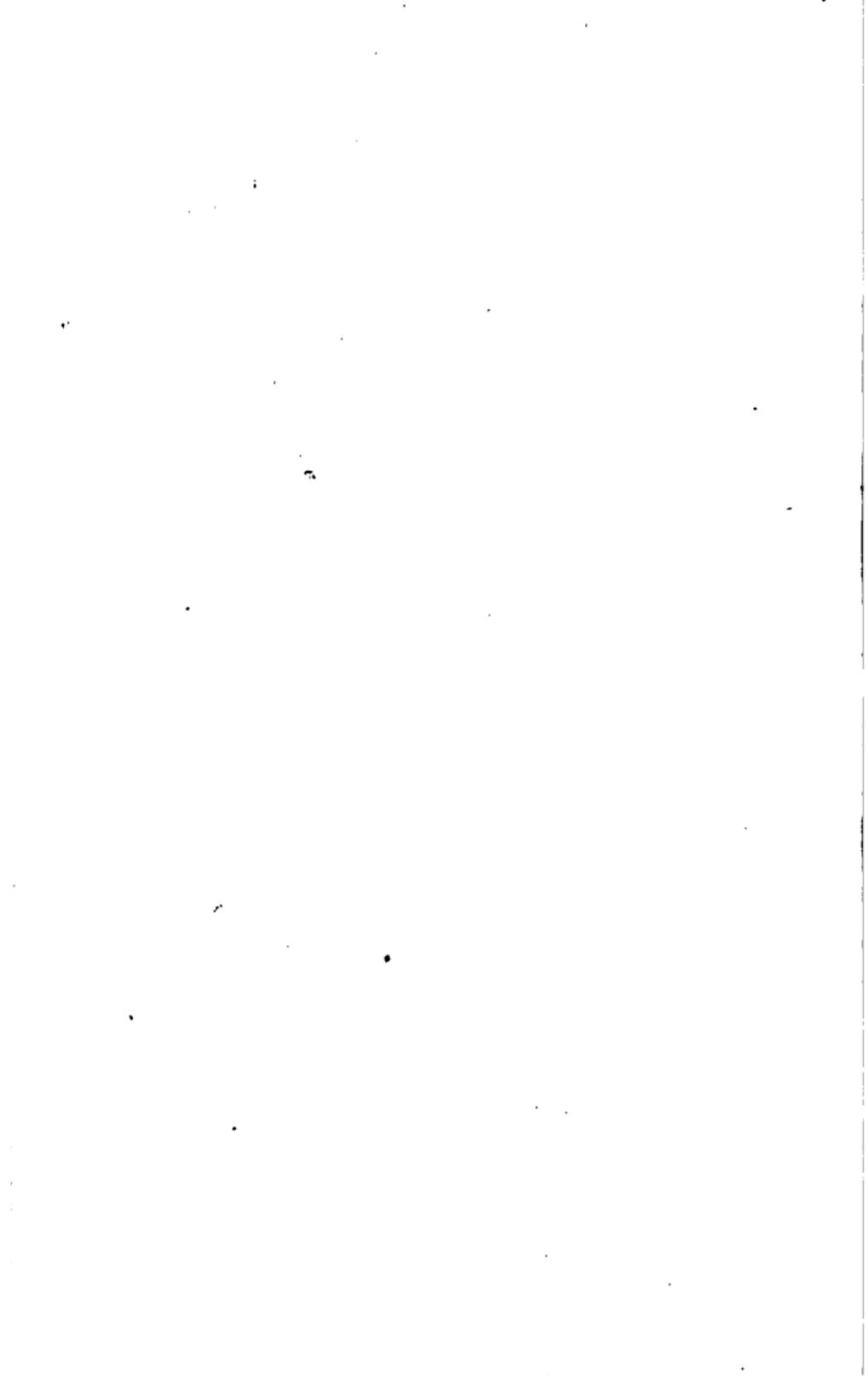
WHAT shall we say, since silent now is he,
Who when he spoke all things would silent be !
Who had so many languages in store,
That only Fame shall speak of him in more.
Whom England now no more return'd must see ;
He's gone to heaven, on his fourth embassy.
On earth he travell'd often, not so say
He'd been abroad to pass loose time away ;
For in whatever land he chanc'd to come,
He read the men and manners ; bringing home
Their wisdom, learning, and their piety,
As if he went to conquer, not to see.
So well he understood the most and best
Of tongues that Babel sent into the West ;
Spoke them so truly, that he had, you'd swear,
Not only liv'd, but been born every where.
Justly each nation's speech to him was known ;
Who for the world was made, not us alone.
Nor ought the language of that man be left,
Who in his breast had all things to express :
We say that learning's endless, and blame Fate
For not allowing life a longer date.

He

He did the utmost bounds of knowledge find,
And found them not so large as was his mind ;
But, like the brave Pellean youth, did moan,
Because that art had no more worlds than one.
And when he saw that he through all had past,
He dy'd left he should idle grow at last.

A. COWLEY.

THE

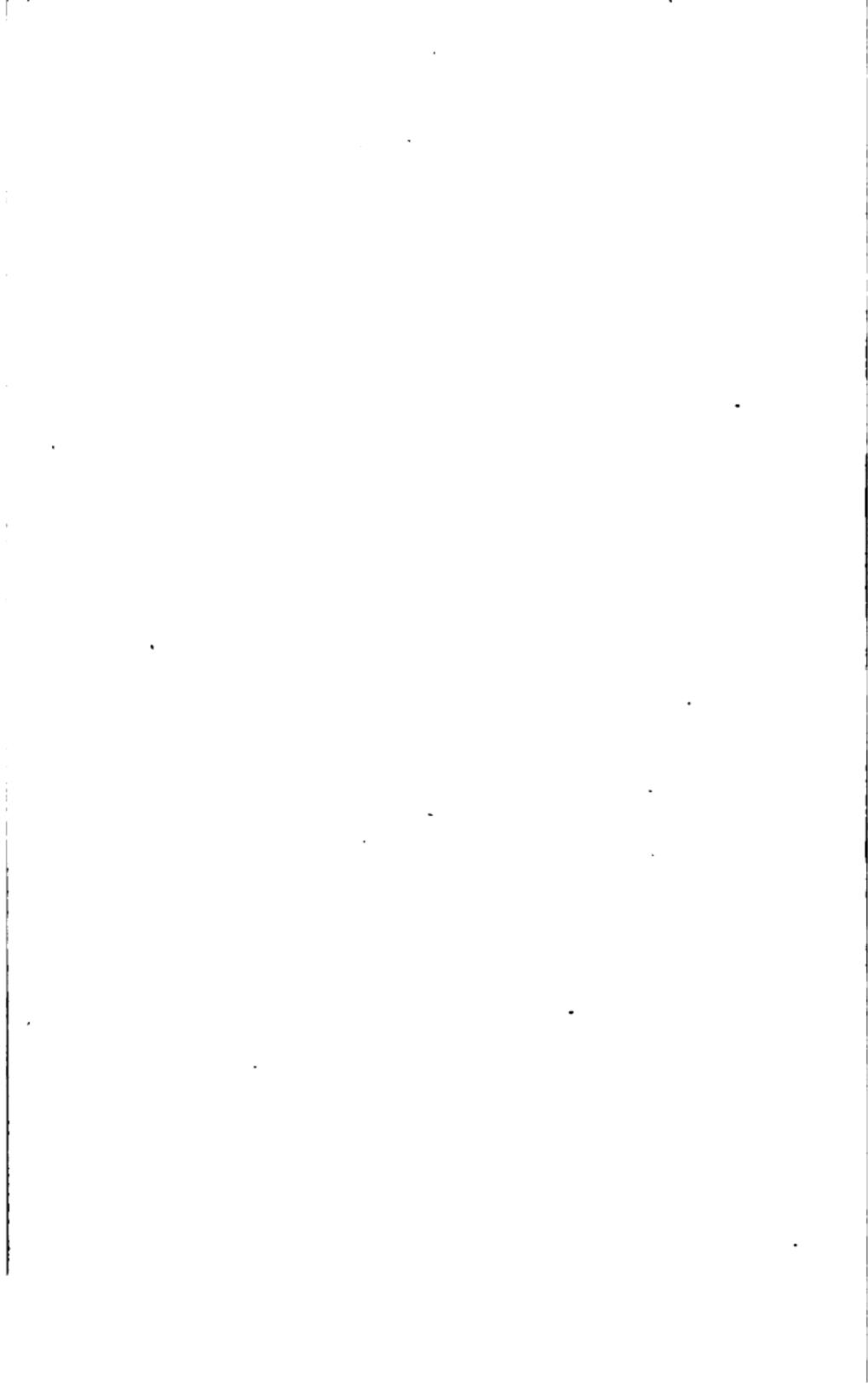


**THE LIFE
OF
MR. RICHARD HOOKER,**

**THE AUTHOR OF THOSE LEARNED BOOKS
OF THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY**

VOL. I.

a



TO THE READER.

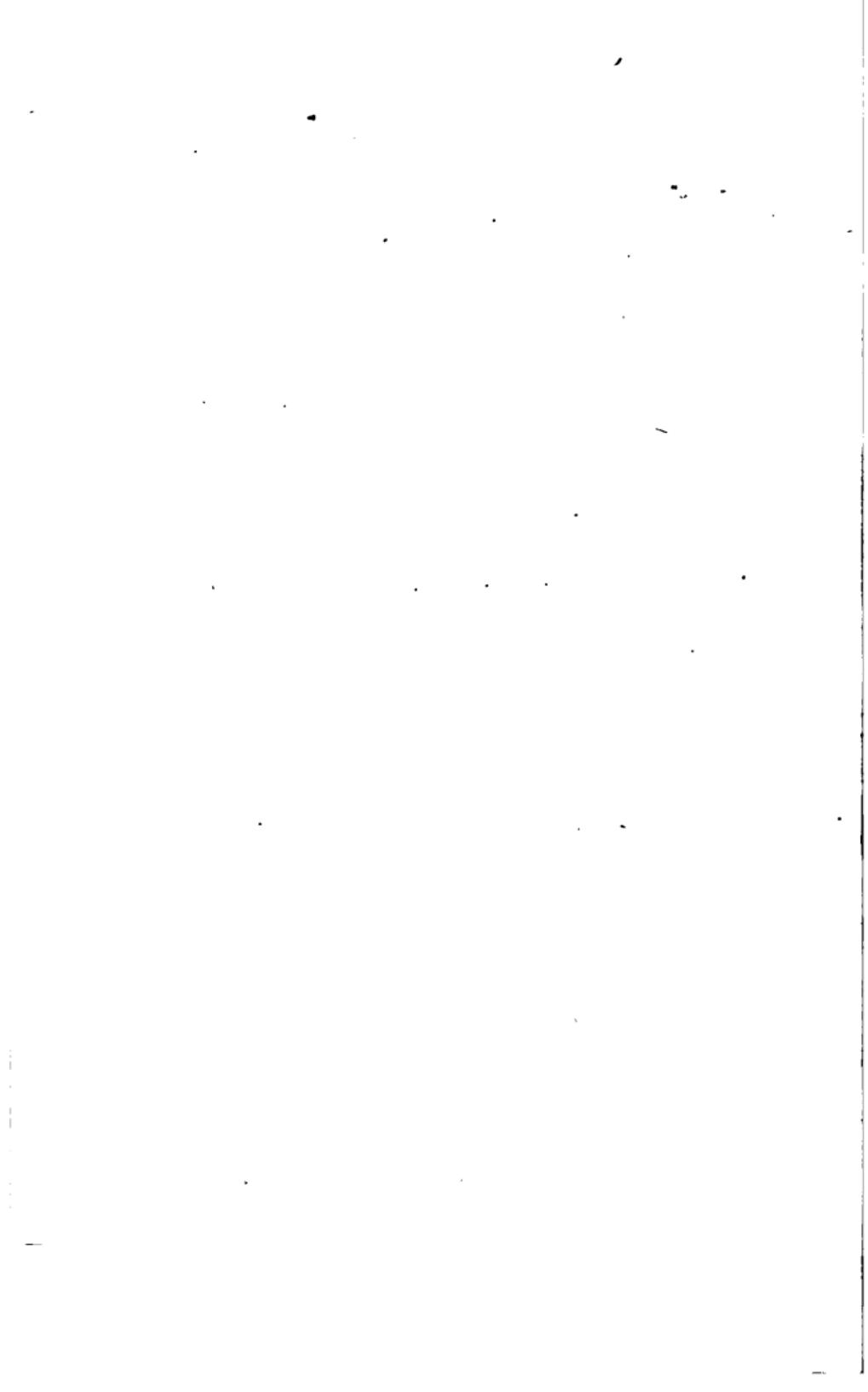
I THINK it necessary to inform my reader, that Dr. Gauden (the late Bishop of Worcester) hath also lately wrote and published the life of Mr. Hooker. And though this be not writ by design to oppose what he hath truly written ; yet I am put upon a necessity to say, that in it there be many material mistakes, and more omissions. I conceive some of his mistakes did proceed from a belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller, who had too hastily published what he hath since most ingenuously retracted. And for the Bishop's omissions, I suppose his more weighty busines\$ and want of time made him pass over many things without that due examination, which my better leisure, my diligence, and my accidental advantages, have made known unto me.

And now for myself, I can say, I hope, or rather know, there are no material

mistakes in what I here present to you that shall become my reader. Little things that I have received by tradition (to which there may be too much and too little faith given) I will not at this distance of time undertake to justify : for, though I have used great diligence, and compared relations and circumstances, and probable results and expressions ; yet I shall not impose my belief upon my reader ; I shall rather leave him at liberty : but, if there shall appear any material omission, I desire every lover of truth and the memory of Mr. Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And to incline him to it, I here promise to acknowledge and rectify any such mistake in a second impression, which the Printer says he hopes for ; and by this means my weak but faithful endeavours may become a better monument, and in some degree more worthy the memory of this venerable man.

I confess, that when I consider the great learning and virtue of Mr. Hooker, and what satisfaction and advantages
many

many eminent scholars and admirers of him have had by his labours ; I do not a little wonder that in sixty years no man did undertake to tell posterity of the excellencies of his life and learning, and the accidents of both ; and sometimes wonder more at myself, that I have been persuaded to it ; and indeed I do not easily pronounce my own pardon, nor expect that my reader shall, unless my Introduction shall prove my apology, to which I refer him.



THE
INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been persuaded, by a friend whom I reverence, and ought to obey, to write the Life of Richard Hooker, the happy author of five (if not more) of the eight learned books of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with some unwillingness; because I foresee that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my age, a work of much labour to enquire, consider, research, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and must therefore not only look back to his death, (now sixty-four years past,) but almost fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth, and gather thence such observations and prognostics, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the completing of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee, and foresee also that it is impossible to escape censures; against which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me, (for I consider the age in which I live,) and shall therefore but intreat of my reader a suspension of his censures, till I have made known unto him some reasons, which I myself would now gladly believe do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking: and if these reasons shall not acquit me from all censures, they may at least abate of their severity, and this is all I can probably hope for.—My reasons follow.

About forty years past (for I am now past the seventy of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer, (now with God,) grand nephew unto the great Archbishop of that name; a family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his sisters I had an entire and free friendship: one of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a bosom-friend and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and after

ter president of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in this following discourse; as also George Cranmer their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentic testimony than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Camden, and others.

This William Cranmer and his two fore-named sisters had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship, with Mr. Hooker, and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was parson of Bishop's-Born near Canterbury; in which city their good father then lived. They had, I say, a part of their education with him, as myself since that time a happy cohabitation with them; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquisitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his person, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which enquiry hath given
me

me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of my reader.

I had also a friendship with the Reverend Dr. Usher, the late learned Archbishop of Armagh; and with Dr. Morton, the late learned and charitable Bishop of Durham; as also with the learned John Hales, of Eton College; and with them also (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many discourses concerning him; and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitness for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet my memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my diligence made such additions to them, as I hope will prove useful to the completing of what I intend: in the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my Introduction.

THE LIFE.

IT is not to be doubted, but that Richard Hooker was born at Heavy-tree, near, or within the precincts, or in the city of Exeter ; a city which may justly boast, that it was the birth-place of him and Sir Thomas Bodley ; as indeed the county may, in which it stands, that it hath furnished this nation with Bishop Jewel, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others, memorable for their valour and learning. He was born about the year of our Redemption 1553, and of parents that were not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both ; by which they were enabled to educate their children in some degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair testimony, and that nature is not so partial as always to give the great blessings of wisdom and learn-

learning, and with them the greater blessings of virtue and government, to those only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

His complexion (if we may guess by him at the age of forty) was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet his motion was slow even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but an humble gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed, (so far as enquiry is able to look back at this distance of time,) that at his being a school-boy he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive, “Why ‘this was, and that was not, to be remembered?’” “Why this was granted, ‘and that denied?’” This being mixed with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature, and with them a quick apprehension of many perplexed parts of learning, imposed then upon him as a scholar, made his master and others to believe him to have an inward blessed divine light, and therefore to consider him to be a little wonder. For in that, children

dren were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better, age.

This meekness and conjuncture of knowledge, with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his school-master, caused him to persuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at school till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them, that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of his glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it
was

was resolved so it should be. And in the mean time his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the *seeds of piety*, those conscientious principles of *loving and fearing God*; of *an early belief*, that *he knows the very secrets of our souls*; that *he punisbeth our vices, and rewards our innocence*; that *we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man what we are to God*, because *first or last the crafty man is catched in his own snare*. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of God's blessed Spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour both with God and man; which, with the great learning that he did after attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good school-master, whose name I am not able to recover, (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated

ated to the memory of his scholar,) was very solicitous with John Hooker, then Chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the University, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some College, though it were but in a mean degree; still urging and assuring him, that his charge would not continue long; for the lad's learning and manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that doubtless God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These reasons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good master, and God's blessing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promise, that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed by him, and with the assistance of the learned Mr. John Jewel; of whom this may be noted, that he left,

. or

or was about the first of Queen Mary's reign expelled out of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, (of which he was a Fellow,) for adhering to the truth of those principles of religion, to which he had assented and given testimony in the days of her brother and predecessor, Edward VI ; and this John Jewel having within a short time after a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation, and, with that safety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worship for which he suffered.

But the cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the Church and State did then look more clear and comfortable ; so that he, and with him many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England, about the first of Queen Elizabeth ; in which year this John Jewel was sent a commissioner or visitor of the churches of the western parts of this kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire, in which county he was born ; and

and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

About the second or third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good, and to oblige his friends, and now a power added to this willingness; this John Hooker gave him a visit in Salisbury, "and besought him for charity's sake to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a scholar; but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the Bishop would therefore become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes." And though the Bishop knew men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations; yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his school-master should attend him, about Easter next following, at that place: which was

done accordingly ; and then, after some questions and observations of the boy's learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the Bishop gave his schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents ; promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment ; which he performed : for about the fifteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was by the Bishop appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then President of Corpus Christi College. Which he did ; and Dr. Cole had (according to a promise made to the Bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds) and a clerk's place in that college : which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron, the good Bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled

filled with the Holy Ghost, and even, like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous fickness, which lasted two months; all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as Monica, the mother of St. Augustine, did that he might become a true Christian; and their prayers were both so heard as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, and as often pray
“that he might never live to occasion
“any sorrow to so good a mother; of
“whom he would often say, he loved
“her so dearly, that he would endeavour
“to be good, even as much for her's, as
“for his own sake.”

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from this fickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother; being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own college, and both on foot; which was

then either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so: but on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposelly to see the good Bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends: and at the Bishop's parting with him, the Bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the Bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him; and at Richard's return, the Bishop said to him, "Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse, which hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with much ease:" and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he said, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse: be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford.

"And

“ And I do now give you ten groats, to
“ bear your charges to Exeter; and here
“ is ten groats more, which I charge you
“ to deliver to your mother, and tell her
“ I send her a Bishop’s benediction with
“ it, and beg the continuance of her
“ prayers for me. And if you bring my
“ horse back to me, I will give you ten
“ groats more, to carry you on foot to the
“ college: and so God bless you, good
“ Richard.”

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But, alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which happy change may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, “ Whether his last ejaculations, or his soul, did first enter into heaven?”

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear: of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron;

and of fear, for his future subsistence. But Dr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him, he should neither want food nor raiment, (which was the utmost of his hopes,) for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, and not longer; for about that time this following accident did befall Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys (sometime Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York) had also been in the days of Queen Mary forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; where, for some years, Bishop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany; and where, in this their exile, they did often eat the bread of sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship, as lasted till the death of Bishop Jewel, which was in September 1571. A little before which time the two Bishops meeting, Jewel had an occasion to begin a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that

that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge, where he had obliged and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin should be sent to Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was not much younger than Mr. Hooker then was: for the Bishop said, “I will have a tutor for “my son, that shall teach him learning “by instruction, and virtue by example; “and my greatest care shall be of the last; “and (God willing) this Richard Hooker “shall be the man into whose hands I will “commit my Edwin.” And the Bishop did so about twelve months, or not much longer, after this resolution.

And doubtless, as to these two, a better choice could not be made; for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had spent five in the University; and had, by a constant unwearied diligence, attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his uninterrupted studies, he had made the sub-

tilty of all the arts easy and familiar to him, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers. So that by these, added to his great reason, and his restless industry added to both, *he did not only know more of causes and effects; but what he knew he knew better than other men.* And with this knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils, (which in time were many,) but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer; of which there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for Mr. Hooker's learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies, this still remains of him, that in four years he was but twice absent from the chapel prayers; and that his behaviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards

towards God; and for that to man, it is observable, that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires; never heard to repine or dispute with Providence, but, by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word: and by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon or might beget a thought of looseness in his hearers. Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his college; and thus this good man continued till his death; still increasing in learning, in patience, and piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age he
was,

was, December 24, 1573, admitted to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation; being elected and so admitted as born in Devon or Hampshire; out of which counties a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the Founder's statutes. And now as he was much encouraged; so now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved college, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had Cardinal Poole, but more that it had Bishop Jewel, Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackson, of that foundation. The first famous for his learned "Apology" "for the Church of England," and his "Defence of it against Harding." The second, for the learned and wise manage of a public dispute with John Hart, of the Romish persuasion, about the head and faith of the Church, and after printed by consent of both parties. And the third, for his most excellent "Exposition of the "Creed," and other treatises; all such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of
the

the greatest learning. Nor was Dr. Jackson more note-worthy for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love, and meekness, and charity to all men.

And in the year 1576, February 23, Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for Inceptor of Arts; Dr. Herbert Westphaling, a man of note for learning, being then Vice-Chancellor: and the Act following he was completed Master, which was anno 1577, his patron, Dr. Cole, being Vice-Chancellor that year, and his dear friend, Henry Savil of Merton College, being then one of the Proctors. It was that Henry Savil, that was after Sir Henry Savil, Warden of Merton College, and Provost of Eton; he which founded in Oxford two famous lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance.

It was that Sir Henry Savil, that translated and enlightened the “ History of Cornelius Tacitus,” with a most excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of St. Chrysostom, and

and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a most judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savil that had the happiness to be a contemporary and familiar friend to Mr. Hooker; and let posterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was so happy as to be admitted Fellow of the college; happy also in being the contemporary and friend of that Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both which were after and successively made Presidents of Corpus Christi College; men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupilage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his "Speculum Europæ," as his brother George for making posterity beholden to his pen by a learned relation and comment on his dangerous

dangerous and remarkable travels, and for his harmonious translation of the Psalms of David, the Book of Job, and other poetical parts of holy writ, into most high and elegant verse. And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned Mr. Camden, of Fines Morri-
son, and others.

“ This Cranmer,” (says Mr. Cam-
den, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth,) “ whose Christian name was George, was
“ a gentleman of singular hopes, the
“ eldest son of Thomas Cranmer, son of
“ Edmund Cranmer, the Archbishop’s
“ brother: he spent much of his youth
“ in Corpus Christi College in Oxford,
“ where he continued Master of Arts for
“ some time before he removed, and then
“ betook himself to travel, accompanying
“ that worthy gentleman Sir Edwin
“ Sandys into France, Germany, and
“ Italy, for the space of three years; and
“ after their happy return, he betook
“ himself to an employment under Se-
“ cretary Davison, a Privy Counsellor of
“ note,

“ note, who, for an unhappy undertaking,
“ became clouded and pitied : after whose
“ fall, he went in place of secretary with
“ Sir Henry Killigrew in his embassage
“ into France : and after his death he was
“ sought after by the most noble Lord
“ Mountjoy, with whom he went into
“ Ireland, where he remained until in a
“ battle against the rebels near Carling-
“ ford, an unfortunate wound put an end
“ both to his life, and the great hopes
“ that were conceived of him, he being
“ then but in the thirty-sixth year of his
“ age.”

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils there was a sacred friendship; a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations to the same recreations and studies; a friendship elemented in youth, and in an university, free from self-ends, which the friendships of age usually are not. And in this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual amity, they went on for many years: and as the holy Prophet saith, so *t*hey took sweet counsel together, and walked in

in the house of God as friends. By which means they improved this friendship to such a degree of holy amity, as bordered upon heaven; a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in that next, where it shall have no end.

And, though this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship; yet obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, manners, laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns, and leave the college, and Mr. Hooker to his studies, in which he was daily more assiduous, still enriching his quiet and capacious soul with the precious learning of the philosophers, casuists, and schoolmen; and with them the foundation and reason of all laws, both sacred and civil; and indeed with such other learning as lay most remote from the track of common studies. And as he was diligent in these, so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's spirit revealed to mankind in the sacred Scripture:

Scripture: for the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same spirit with which they were written; he that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to understand wisdom secretly. And the good man would often say, that “ God abhors confusion as contrary to his nature;” and as often say, “ That the Scripture was not writ to beget disputations, and pride, and opposition to government; but charity and humility, moderation, obedience to authority, and peace to mankind;” of which virtues, he would as often say, no man did ever repent himself on his death-bed. And that this was really his judgment, did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as music and poetry; all which he had digested, and made useful; and of all which the reader will have a fair testimony in what will follow.

In the year 1579, the Chancellor of the University was given to understand, that

that the public Hebrew Lecture was not read according to the statutes; nor could be, by reason of a distemper, that had then seized the brain of Mr. Kingsmill, who was to read it; so that it lay long unread, to the great detriment of those that were studious of that language. Therefore the Chancellor writ to his Vice-Chancellor, and the University, that he had heard such commendations of the excellent knowledge of Mr. Richard Hooker in that tongue, that he desired he might be procured to read it: and he did, and continued to do so till he left Oxford.

Within three months after his undertaking this Lecture, (namely in October 1579,) he was with Dr. Reynolds and others expelled his college; and this letter, transcribed from Dr. Reynolds's own hand, may give some account of it.

TO SIR FRANCIS KNOLLES.

“ I am sorry, Right Honourable, that
 “ I am enforced to make unto you such
 “ a suit, which I cannot move, but I
 “ must complain of the unrighteous deal-

“ ing of one of our college, who hath
“ taken upon him, against all law and
“ reason, to expel out of our house both
“ me and Mr. Hooker, and three other
“ of our fellows, for doing that which
“ by oath we were bound to do. Our
“ matter must be heard before the Bishop
“ of Winchester, with whom I do not
“ doubt but we shall find equity. How-
“ beit, forasmuch as some of our adver-
“ faries have said that the Bishop is already
“ forestalled, and will not give us such
“ audience as we look for; therefore I
“ am humbly to beseech your honour,
“ that you will desire the Bishop, by your
“ letters, to let us have justice; though it
“ be with rigour, so it be justice: our
“ cause is so good, that I am sure we shall
“ prevail by it. Thus much I am bold to
“ request of your honour for Corpus Christi
“ College sake, or rather for Christ’s sake;
“ whom I beseech to bless you with daily
“ increase of his manifold gifts, and the
“ blessed graces of his holy Spirit.

“ Your honour’s in Christ to command,
“ JOHN REYNOLDS.”

London, Oct. 9, 1579.

This expulsion was by Dr. John Barfoote, then Vice-President of the college, and Chaplain to Ambrose Earl of Warwick. I cannot learn the pretended cause ; but, that they were restored the same month is most certain.

I return to Mr. Hooker in his college, where he continued his studies with all quietness, for the space of three years ; about which time he entered into sacred orders, being then made Deacon and Priest, and, not long after, was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross.

In order to which sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamite's house ; which is a house so called, for that, besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet for two days before, and one day after his sermon. This house was then kept by John Churchman, sometimes a draper of good note in Watling-street, upon whom poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition ; which, though it be a punishment, is not always

an argument of God's disfavour; for he was a virtuous man. I shall not yet give the like testimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for finding him no easier an horse, (supposing the horse trotted when he did not;) and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possessed him, that he would not be persuaded two days rest and quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon: but a warm bed, and rest, and drink proper for a cold, given him by Mrs. Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon; which was,

was, " That in God there were two wills; " an antecedent and a consequent will : " his first will, That all mankind should be saved ; but his second will was, That those only should be saved, that did live answerable to that degree of grace " which he had offered or afforded them." This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him before, and hath been since by Master Henry Mason, Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond, and others of great learning, who believe that a contrary opinion intrenches upon the honour and justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare ; but it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares in his rational answer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer, then Bishop of London, at this time one of his auditors, and at last one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accused for it.

But the justifying of this doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the

kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold ; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said : so that the good man came to be persuaded by her, “ that he was a man of a “ tender constitution ;” and “ that it was “ best for him to have a wife, that might “ prove a nurse to him ; such an one as “ might both prolong his life, and make “ it more comfortable ; and such a one “ she could and would provide for him, “ if he thought fit to marry.” And he not considering, that *the cbildren of this world are wiser in their generation than the cbildren of light* ; but, like a true Nathaniel, fearing no guile, because he meant none, did give her such a power as Eleazer was trusted with, (you may read it in the book of Genesis,) when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac ; for even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice : and he did so in that or about the year following.

Now,

Now, the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion ; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to a dripping house : so that the good man had no reason to *rejoice in the wife of his youth* ; but too just cause to say with the holy Prophet, *Wo is me, that I am constrained to bave my habitation in the tents of Kedar !*

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondered at : but let us consider that the Prophet Ezekiel says, *There is a wheel within a wheel* ; a secret sacred wheel of Providence, (most visible in marriages,) guided by his hand, that *allows not the race to the swift, nor bread to the wise*, nor good wives to good men : and he that can bring good out of evil (for mortals are blind to this reason) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, to meek Moses, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But so it was ; and let the reader cease to wonder, for *affliction is a divine diet* ; which though it be not pleasing to mankind, yet

'Almighty God hath often, very often, imposed it as good, though bitter physic to those children, whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this marriage the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his college ; from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world ; into those corroding cares that attend a married priest, and a country parsonage ; which was Draiton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire, not far from Ailsbury, and in the diocese of Lincoln ; to which he was presented by John Cheney, Esq. (then patron of it) the ninth of December, 1584, where he behaved himself so as to give no occasion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviseth a minister of God) *in much patience, in afflictions, in anguishes, in necessities, in poverty, and no doubt in long suffering* ; yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

And in this condition he continued about a year ; in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer,

ther, took a journey to see their tutor; where they found him with a book in his hand, (it was the Odes of Horace,) he being then like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field; which he told his pupils he was forced to do then, for that his servant was gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. But when his servant returned and released him, then his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for *Richard was called to rock the cradle;* and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they staid but till next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition: and they having in that time rejoiced in the remembrance, and then paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and other like diversions, and thereby given him as much present comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of

of his wife Joan, and seek themselves a quieter lodging for next night. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said,
“ Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen
“ in no better ground, as to your parsonage;
“ and more sorry that your wife proves
“ not a more comfortable companion,
“ after you have wearied yourself in your
“ restless studies.” To whom the good man replied, “ My dear George, if saints
“ have usually a double share in the mis-
“ ries of this life, I, that am none, ought
“ not to repine at what my wise Creator
“ hath appointed for me; but labour (as
“ indeed I do daily) to submit mine to
“ his will, and possess my soul in patience
“ and peace.”

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father, who was then Archbishop of York, with his tutor’s sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more quiet and a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was
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in the year 1585, Mr. Alvy (Master of the Temple) died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour, as to gain so high a degree of love and reverence from all men, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvy. And at the Temple-reading, next after the death of this Father Alvy, he the said Archbishop of York being then at dinner with the Judges, the Reader, and Benchers of that society, met with a general condolement for the death of Father Alvy, and with a high commendation of his saint-like life, and of his great merit both towards God and man ; and as they bewailed his death, so they wished for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the Bishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvy's place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other testimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Draiton Beauchamp to London, and there the mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the Bishop,

as

as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantage of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his country parsonage did afford him. But these reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it : his wish was rather to gain a better country living, where he might "see God's " blessing spring out of the earth, and be " free from noise," (so he expressed the desire of his heart,) "and eat that bread which " he might more properly call his own, in " privacy and quietness." But, notwithstanding this aversion, he was at last persuaded to accept of the Bishop's proposal, and was by ^a patent for life made Master of the Temple the 17th of March,

^a This you may find in the Temple Records. Will. Ermstead was Master of the Temple at the dissolution of the Priory, and died 2 Eliz.

Richard Alvy, Bat. Divinity, Pat. 13 Feb. 2 Eliz. Magister five Custos Domus et Ecclesiæ novi Templi, died 27 Eliz.

Richard Hooker succeeded that year by patent, in terminis, as Alvy had it, and he left it 33 Eliz.

That year Dr. Belgey succeeded Richard Hooker.

1585, he being then in the 34th year of his age.

And here I shall make a stop ; and, that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place ; a place which he accepted, rather than desired : and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness, that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for, that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praises. For this he always thirsted and prayed : but Almighty God did not grant it ; for his admission into this place was the very beginning of those oppositions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a stranger to ; and of which the reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the times I shall, by the reader's favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth ; a time,

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in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and the sharp persecution for religion that raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men ; and begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them, or their present posterity. And the apprehension of these dangers begot a hearty desire of a settlement in the Church and State ; believing there was no other probable way left to make them fit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begot self-ends ; and these begot animosities, envy, opposition, and unthankfulness for those very blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning of her reign ; and thus it continued too long ; for those very people
that

that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a reformation from the Church of Rome, became at last so like the grave, as never to be satisfied, but were still thirsting for more and more ; neglecting to pay that obedience, and perform those vows, which they made in their days of adversities and fear : so that in a short time there appeared three several interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs : they may for distinction be called, the “active Romanists,” the “restless Nonconformists,” (of which there were many sorts,) and the “passive peaceable Protestant.” The counsels of the first considered and resolved on in Rome : the second both in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles, both there and within the bosom of our own nation : the third pleaded and defended their cause by established laws, both ecclesiastical and civil : and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying what was by those known laws happily established to them and their posterity.

I shall

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists against the Church and State; because what is principally intended in this digression, is an account of the opinions and activity of the Nonconformists; against whose judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at last, but most unwillingly, to be engaged in a book-war; a war which he maintained not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason.

In which number of Nonconformists, though some might be sincere, well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of their errors; yet of this party there were many that were possessed with a high degree of spiritual wickedness; I mean with an innate restless pride and malice; I do not mean the visible carnal sins of gluttony and drunkenness, and the like, (from which, good Lord, deliver us;) but sins of a higher nature, because they are more unlike God, who is the God of love, and mercy, and order, and peace;

peace ; and more like the Devil, who is not a glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a Devil : but I mean those spiritual wickednesses of malice and revenge, and an opposition to government : men that joyed to be the authors of misery, which is properly his work that is the enemy and disturber of mankind ; and thereby greater sinners than the glutton or drunkard, though some will not believe it. And of this party there were also many, whom prejudice and a furious zeal had so blinded, as to make them neither to hear reason, nor adhere to the ways of peace ; men, that were the very dregs and pest of mankind ; men, whom pride and self-conceit had made to overvalue their own pitiful crooked wisdom so much, as not to be ashamed to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men whom they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey ; men, that laboured and joyed first to find out the faults, and then to speak evil of government, and to be the authors of confusion ; men, whom company, and conversation, and custom had at last so blinded, and made so insen-

fible that these were sins, that, like those that perished in the gainsaying of Core, so these died without repenting of these spiritual wickednesses ; of which the practices of Coppinger and Hacket in their lives, and the death of them and their adherents, are, God knows, too sad examples, and ought to be cautions to those men that are inclined to the like spiritual wickednesses.

And in these times, which tended thus to confusion, there were also many of these scruple-mongers, that pretended a tenderness of conscience, refusing to take an oath before a lawful magistrate : and yet these very men in their secret conventicles did covenant and swear to each other, to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up the Presbyterian doctrine and discipline ; and both in such a manner as they themselves had not yet agreed on ; but, up that government must. To which end there were many that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing contents and sedition, by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scur-

scurrilous pamphlets and libels against the Church and State; but especially against the Bishops; by which means, together with venomous and indiscreet sermons, the common people became so fanatic, as to believe the Bishops to be Antichrist, and the only obstructors of God's discipline; and at last some of them were given over to so bloody a zeal, and such other desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the Revelation of St. John, that *Antichrist was to be overcome by the sword.* So that those very men, that began with tender and meek petitions, proceeded to admonitions; then to satirical remonstrances; and at last (having, like Absalom, numbered who was not, and who was, for their cause) they got a supposed certainty of so great a party, that they durst threaten first the Bishops, and then the Queen and Parliament: to all which they were secretly encouraged by the Earl of Leicester, then in great favour with her Majesty, and the reputed cherisher and patron-general of these pretenders to tenderness of conscience; his design being,

by their means, to bring such an odium upon the Bishops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himself: which avaricious desire had at last so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes seemed to put him into a present possession of Lambeth-House.

And to these undertakings the Non-conformists of this nation were much encouraged and heightened by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; so that here they became so bold, that one^a told the Queen openly in a sermon, “she was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God’s people, but obstructed his discipline.” And in Scotland they were more confident; for there^b they declared her an Atheist, and grew to such an height, as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against her, nor for treason against their own King, if it were but spoken in

^a Mr. Dering.

^b Vide Bishop Spotswood’s History of the Church of Scotland.

the pulpit; shewing at last such a disobedience to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress, and in prifon, and in danger of death, the Church denied the King their prayers for her; and at another time, when he had appointed a day of feasting, the Church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority.

To this height they were grown in both nations, and by these means there was distilled into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the Church and State: and these opinions vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs, the governors of the Church and State were forced to use such other severities as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent the gangrene of confusion, and the perilous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would have been first confusion, and then ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These errors and animosities were so

remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, and considering them, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own country, to this purpose :
“ That the common people of England
“ were wiser than the wisest of his nation ;
“ for here the very women and shopkeep-
“ ers were able to judge of predestination,
“ and to determine what laws were fit to be
“ made concerning church-government ;
“ and then, what were fit to be obeyed
“ or abolished. That they were more
“ able (or at least thought so) to raise
“ and determine perplexed cases of con-
“ science, than the wisest of the most
“ learned colleges in Italy. That men of
“ the slightest learning, and the most ig-
“ norant of the common people, were
“ mad for a new, or super, or re-reforma-
“ tion of religion ; and that in this they
“ appeared like that man, who would ne-
“ ver cease to whet and whet his knife,
“ till there was no steel left to make it
“ useful.” And he concluded his letter
with this observation, “ That those very
“ men

“ men that were most busy in oppositions,
“ and disputationes, and controversies, and
“ finding out the faults of their govern-
“ ors, had usually the least of humility and
“ mortification, or of the power of godli-
“ ness.”

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men ; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions, and so highly opposed the blessed motions of his Spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they became the very slaves of vice, and had thereby finned themselves into a belief of that which they would, but could not believe ; into a belief which is repugnant even to human nature ; (for the Heathens believe that there are many Gods;) but these had finned themselves into a belief that there was no God ; and so finding nothing in themselves, but what was worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for, namely, *Tbat tbey might be like the beasts that perish* ; and in wicked company (which is the Athe-

ist's sanctuary) were so bold as to say so : though the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but is not then able to think it : even into a belief that there is no God. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then finned themselves.

And now, when the Church was pestered with them, and with all those other fore-named irregularities ; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn to pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin ; (for heresies do usually outlive their first authors;) when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things that were forbidden and attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied : when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others : when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others ; and the rabble would

would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority: in this extremity of fear, and danger of the Church and State, when, to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of an high and fearless fortitude, they were blest in all by John Whitgift his being made Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom Sir Henry Wotton (that knew him well in his youth, and had studied him in his age,) gives this true character; “That he was a man of reverend and sacred memory, and of the primitive temper; such a temper, as when the Church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue.” And indeed this man proved so.

And though I dare not undertake to add to this excellent and true character of Sir Henry Wotton; yet I shall neither do right to this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for

for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker, where we left him at the Temple.

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family that was ancient, and noted to be both prudent, and affable, and gentle by nature. He was educated in Cambridge ; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke-Hall ; (where Mr. Bradford the martyr was his tutor;) from thence he was removed to Peter-House ; from thence to be Master of Pembroke-Hall ; and from thence to the Mastership of Trinity-College. About which time the Queen made him her Chaplain ; and not long after Prebend of Ely, and then Dean of Lincoln ; and having for many years past looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the bishopric of Worcester, and (which was not with her a usual favour) forgiving him his first-fruits ; then by constituting him Vice-President of the Principality of Wales. And having experimented his wisdom, his justice, and moderation in the manage of her affairs

fairs in both these places, she in the twenty-sixth of her reign made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and, not long after, of her Privy Council ; and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the Ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested ; and in all his employments was like Jehoiada, that did good unto Israel.

These were the steps of this Bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares : in which place (to speak Mr. Camden's very words in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth) " he devoutly confe-
" crated both his whole life to God, and
" his painful labours to the good of his
" Church." And yet in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of church-affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness of Bishop Grindal, his immediate predecessor, the activity of the Nonconformists, and their chief assistant the Earl of Leicester ; and indeed by too many others of the like sacrilegious prin-

principles. With these he was to encounter ; and though he wanted neither courage, nor a good cause, yet he foresaw, that, without a great measure of the Queen's favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach, that had been lately made into the lands and immunities of the Church, or indeed to maintain the remaining lands and rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa, ("Agrippa, believest thou ? I know thou believest,") he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with her, as, by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a great degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now both entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favours to him, were such, that she called him *ber little black busband*, and called his servants her servants : and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours for the Church's and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul,

soul, and to make him her confessor ; of which she gave many fair testimonies ; and of which one was, that “ she would “ never eat flesh in Lent, without obtain- “ ing a licence from her little black hus- “ band :” and would often say, “ she pitied “ him because she trusted him, and had “ thereby eased herself by laying the bur- “ then of all her clergy-cares upon his “ shoulders, which he managed with pru- “ dence and piety.”

I shall not keep myself within the promised rules of brevity in this account of his interest with her Majesty, and his care of the Church’s rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars ; and therefore my desire is, that one example may serve for a testimony of both. And, that the reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made Archbishop, there passed an act or acts of Parliament, intending the better preservation of the Church-lands, by recalling a power which was vested in others to sell or lease them, by lodging and trusting the future

future care and protection of them only in the Crown : and amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the Queen's, the Earl of Leicester was one ; and the Bishop having, by his interest with her Majesty, put a stop to the Earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her ; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But the Bishop made a sudden and a seasonable return to her Majesty, (for he found her alone,) and spake to her with great humility and reverence, to this purpose.

“ I beseech your Majesty to hear me
“ with patience, and to believe that yours
“ and the Church's safety are dearer to
“ me than my life, but my conscience
“ dearer than both : and therefore give
“ me leave to do my duty, and tell you,
“ that Princes are deputed nursing Fa-
“ thers of the Church, and owe it a pro-
“ tection ; and therefore God forbid that
“ you should be so much as passive in her
“ ruin, when you may prevent it ; or
“ that I should behold it without horror
“ and

“ and detestation ; or should forbear to
“ tell your Majesty of the sin and danger
“ of sacrilege. And though you and
“ myself were born in an age of frailties,
“ when the primitive piety and care of
“ the Church’s lands and immunities are
“ much decayed ; yet, Madam, let me
“ beg that you would first consider that
“ there are such sins as profaneness and
“ sacrilege ; and that, if there were not,
“ they could not have names in holy writ,
“ and particularly in the New Testament.
“ And I beseech you to consider, that
“ though our Saviour said, *He judged no*
“ *man* ; and, to testify it, would not judge
“ nor divide the inheritance betwixt the
“ two brethren, nor would judge the
“ woman taken in adultery ; yet in this
“ point of the Church’s rights he was
“ so zealous, that he made himself both
“ the accuser and the judge, and the
“ executioner too, to punish these sins ;
“ witnessed, in that he himself made the
“ whip to drive the profaners out of the
“ Temple, overthrew the tables of the
“ money-changers, and drove them out
“ of

“ of it. And I beseech you to consider;
“ that it was St. Paul that said to those
“ Christians of his time that were offended
“ with idolatry, and yet committed sacri-
“ lege ; *Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou*
“ *commit sacrilege ?* supposing, I think,
“ sacrilege the greater sin. This may
“ occasion your Majesty to consider, that
“ there is such a sin as sacrilege ; and to
“ incline you to prevent the curse that
“ will follow it, I beseech you also to
“ consider, that Constantine the first
“ Christian Emperor, and Helena his mo-
“ ther ; that King Edgar, and Edward
“ the Confessor ; and indeed many others
“ of your predecessors, and many private
“ Christians, have also given to God, and
“ to his Church, much land, and many
“ immunities, which they might have
“ given to those of their own families, and
“ did not ; but gave them for ever as an
“ absolute right and sacrifice to God : and
“ with these immunities and lands they
“ have entailed a curse upon the alienators
“ of them : God prevent your Majesty
“ and your successors from being liable to
“ that

" that curse, which will cleave unto
" Church-lands, as the leprosy to the
" Jews.

" And to make you, that are trusted
" with their preservation, the better to
" understand the danger of it, I beseech
" you, forget not, that, to prevent these
" curses, the Church's land and power
" have been also endeavoured to be pre-
" served, as far as human reason and the
" law of this nation have been able to
" preserve them, by an immediate and
" most sacred obligation on the consci-
" ences of the Princes of this realm. For
" they that consult Magna Charta shall
" find, that as all your predecessors were
" at their coronation, so you also were
" sworn before all the nobility and bi-
" shops then present, and in the presence
" of God, and in his stead to him that
" anointed you, *to maintain the Church-*
" lands, and the rights belonging to it;
" and this you yourself have testified
" openly to God at the holy altar, by
" laying your hands on the Bible then
" lying upon it. And not only *Magna*

“ Charta, but many modern statutes have
“ denounced a curse upon those that
“ break Magna Charta; a curse like
“ the leprosy, that was entailed on the
“ Jews: for as that, so these curses have
“ and will cleave to the very stones of
“ those buildings that have been conse-
“ crated to God; and the father’s sin of
“ sacrilege hath and will prove to be en-
“ tailed on his son and family. And now,
“ Madam, what account can be given
“ for the breach of this oath at the last
“ great day, either by your Majesty, or
“ by me, if it be wilfully or but negli-
“ gently violated, I know not.

“ And therefore, good Madam, let not
“ the late Lord’s exceptions against the
“ failings of some few clergymen prevail
“ with you to punish posterity for the er-
“ rors of this present age: let particular
“ men suffer for their particular errors;
“ but let God and his Church have their
“ inheritance: and though I pretend not
“ to prophesy, yet I beg posterity to take
“ notice of what is already become visible
“ in many families; that Church-land,

“ added

“ added to an ancient and just inherit-
“ ance, hath proved like a moth fretting
“ a garment, and secretly consumed both :
“ or like the eagle that stole a coal from
“ the altar, and thereby set her nest on
“ fire, which consumed both her young
“ eagles, and herself that stole it. And
“ though I shall forbear to speak reproach-
“ fully of your father, yet I beg you to
“ take notice, that a part of the Church’s
“ rights, added to the vast treasure left
“ him by his father, hath been conceived
“ to bring an unavoidable consumption
“ upon both, notwithstanding all his dili-
“ gence to preserve them.

“ And consider, that after the violation
“ of those laws, to which he had sworn
“ in Magna Charta, God did so far deny
“ him his restraining grace, that as King
“ Saul, after he was forsaken of God, fell
“ from one sin to another ; so he, till at
“ last he fell into greater sins than I am
“ willing to mention. Madam, religion
“ is the foundation and cement of human
“ societies ; and when they that serve at
“ God’s altar shall be exposed to poverty,

“ then religion itself will be exposed to
“ scorn, and become contemptible ; as
“ you may already observe it to be in
“ too many poor vicarages in this nation.
“ And therefore, as you are by a late act
“ or acts of Parliament entrusted with a
“ great power to preserve or waste the
“ Church’s lands ; yet dispose of them,
“ for Jesus’ sake, as you have promised
“ to men, and vowed to God, that is, as
“ the donors intended : let neither false-
“ hood nor flattery beguile you to do
“ otherwise ; but put a stop to God’s and
“ the Levites portion, I beseech you, and
“ to the approaching ruins of his Church,
“ as you expect comfort at the last great
“ day ; for Kings must be judged. Par-
“ don this affectionate plainness, my most
“ dear Sovereign, and let me beg to be
“ still continued in your favour ; and the
“ Lord still continue you in his.”

The Queen’s patient hearing this af-
fectionate speech, and her future care to
preserve the Church’s rights, which till
then had been neglected, may appear a
fair testimony, that he made hers and the
Church’s

'Church's good the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this there were such daily testimonies given, as begot betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other ; she not doubting his piety to be more than all his opposers, which were many ; nor doubting his prudence to be equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom, as those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years, in which time he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour towards all men that had opposed him, especially the Earl of Leicester : so that God seemed still to keep him in her favour, that he might preserve the remaining Church-lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honour and power with which she gratified and trusted him ; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles : he eased her of all her Church-

cares by his wise manage of them ; he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many ; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age, and to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions ; he lived to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed, to be present at the expiration of her last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this also be added, that he was the chief mourner at her sad funeral ; nor let this be forgotten, that, within a few hours after her death, he was the happy proclaimer, that King James (her peaceful successor) was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader to allow me to say a little, and but a little, more of this good Bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. Hooker ; and, because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the Bishop's charity and humility ; but this of both. He
built

built a large alms-house near to his own palace at Croydon in Surry, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions; and was so truly humble, that he called them brothers and sisters: and whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth, (which was very often,) he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croydon; and dine with them at his hospital; at which time, you may believe, there was joy at the table. And at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars. Which gave just occasion for Boyfe Sisi, then ambassador for the French King, and resident here, at the Bishop's death, to say, "The Bishop had published many learned books; but a free-school to train up youth, and an hospital to lodge and maintain aged and poor people, were the best

“ evidences of Christian learning that a
“ Bishop could leave to posterity.” This
good Bishop lived to see King James set-
tled in peace, and then fell into an ex-
treme sickness at his palace in Lambeth; of
which when the King had notice, he went
presently to visit him, and found him in
his bed in a declining condition, and very
weak; and after some short discourse be-
twixt them, the King at his departure assur-
ed him, “ He had a great affection for him,
“ and a very high value for his prudence
“ and virtues, and would endeavour to
“ beg his life of God for the good of his
“ Church.” To which the good Bishop
replied, “ Pro Ecclesia Dei, pro Ecclesia
“ Dei :” which were the last words he
ever spake; therein testifying, that as in
his life, so at his death, his chiefest care
was of God’s Church.

This John Whitgift was made Arch-
bishop in the year 1583. In which busy
place he continued twenty years and
some months; and in which time you
may believe he had many trials of his
courage and patience: but his motto was,

“ Vin-

“Vincit, qui patitur;” and he made it good.

Many of his many trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of Leicester, who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a faction of Nonconformists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning, sometime contemporary with the Bishop in Cambridge, and of the same college, of which the Bishop had been Master: in which place there began some emulations, (the particulars I forbear,) and at last open and high oppositions betwixt them, and in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was most faulty, if his expulsion out of the University can incline you to it.

And in this discontent after the Earl’s death, (which was 1588,) Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cherisher of a party that were for the Geneva Church-government; and, to effect it, he ran himself into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing at the last to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances, which he caused

caused to be printed ; and to which the Bishop made a first answer, and Cartwright replied upon him ; and then the Bishop having rejoined to his first reply, Mr. Cartwright either was, or was persuaded to be, satisfied ; for he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason. After some silence, Mr. Cartwright received from the Bishop many personal favours, and betook himself to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he was made master of an hospital, and lived quietly, and grew rich ; and where the Bishop gave him a licence to preach, upon promise not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation ; and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the Bishop surviving him but some few months ; each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

And now after this long digression, made for the information of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left

left him in the Temple, and where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a controversy with Walter Travers, a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's, as the Bishop had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself, and of which I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this ; that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and the Bishop were now at rest, yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men, that by company and clamours became possessed of a faith, which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not : men that were become positive in asserting, *That a Papist cannot be saved* : insomuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the Bishop that preached her funeral sermon (which was Dr. Howland, then Bishop of Peterborough) was reviled for not being positive for her damnation. And besides this boldness of their becoming Gods, so far as to set limits to his mercies, there was not only one *Martin Mar-Prelate*, but other venomous books daily printed and dispersed ; books that

that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver Divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people, till Tom Nash appeared against them all, who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing, satirical, merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind, malicious, senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they; Nash's answers being like his books, which bore these or like titles; *An Almond for a Parrot*; *A Fig for my Godson*; *Come crack me this Nut*, and the like; so that his merry wit made some sport, and such a discovery of their absurdities, as (which is strange) he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets, than a much wiser man had been able.

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvy, who was Master of the Temple, this Walter Travers was Lecturer there for the evening sermons, which he preached with great approbation, especially of some citizens, and the younger gentlemen of that society;
and

and for the most part approved by Mr. Hooker himself, in the midst of their oppositions. For he continued Lecturer a part of his time; Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of a winning behaviour, and of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the Presbytery in Antwerp, (and with them some opinions, that could never be eradicated,) and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation ; for the promoting of which he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva, and others in Scotland ; and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in that design.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this government in the Temple, and to that end used his most zealous endeavours to be Master of it ; and his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved the occasion of a public opposition betwixt them in their sermons : many of which were concerning the doctrine and ceremonies of this Church : insomuch that,

that, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they withstand each other in their sermons : for, as one hath pleasantly expressed it, “ The forenoon ser-“ mon spake Canterbury ; and the after-“ noon, Geneva.”

In these sermons there was little of bitterness ; but each party brought all the reasons he was able, to prove his adversary’s opinion erroneous. And thus it continued a long time, till the oppositions became so visible, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent Archbishop put a stop to Mr. Travers’s preaching, by a positive prohibition. Against which Mr. Travers appealed, and petitioned her Majesty’s Privy Council to have it recalled ; where, besides his patron, the Earl of Leicester, he met also with many affliting friends : but they were not able to prevail with or against the Archbishop, whom the Queen had intrusted with all Church-power ; and he had received so fair a testimony of Mr. Hooker’s principles, and of his learning and moderation, that he with-

withstood all solicitations. But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers was unpleasant to divers of his party; and the reasonableness of it became at last to be so publicly magnified by them, and many others of that party, as never to be answered: so that, intending the Bishop's and Mr. Hooker's disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed and scattered abroad; and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear, and make as public an answer; which he did, and dedicated it to the Archbishop: and it proved so full an answer, an answer that had in it so much of clear reason, and writ with so much meekness and majesty of style, that the Bishop began to have him in admiration, and to rejoice that he had appeared in his cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his friendship; even a familiar friendship with a man of so much quiet learning and humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers dissented, (all or most of which I have seen written,) would prove at least tedious:

tedious : and therefore I shall impose upon my reader no more than two, which shall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the rest.

Mr. Travers excepted against Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his sermons he declared, “ That the assurance of what we believe by the Word of God is not to us so certain as that which we perceive by sense.” And Mr. Hooker confesseth he said so, and endeavours to justify it by the reasons following.

“ First ; I taught, that the things which God promises in his Word are not surer than what we touch, handle, or see : but are we so sure and certain of them ? If we be, why doth God so often prove his promises to us as he doth, by arguments drawn from our sensible experience ? For we must be surer of the proof than of the things proved ; otherwise it is no proof. For example ; how is it that many men looking on the moon at the same time, every one knoweth it to be the moon as certainly as the other doth ? But many

“ many believing one and the same promise,
“ have not all one and the same ful-
“ ness of persuasion. For how falleth it
“ out, that men being assured of any thing
“ by sense, can be no surer of it than they
“ are ; when as the strongest in faith that
“ liveth upon the earth hath always need
“ to labour, strive, and pray, that his as-
“ surance concerning heavenly and spiri-
“ tual things may grow, increase, and be
“ augmented ?”

The sermon, that gave him the cause of this his justification, makes the case more plain, by declaring, “ That there is, besides this certainty of evidence, a certainty of adherence.” In which having most excellently demonstrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable use of it : “ Comfortable (he says) as to weak believers, who suppose themselves to be faithless, not to believe, when notwithstanding they have their adherence ; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and worketh secretly in them, and effectually too,

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“ though they want the inward testimony
“ of it.”

Tell this, saith he, to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that, by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants faith, because he wants the comfortable assurance of it; and his answer will be, “ Do not persuade me against my knowledge, against what I find and feel in myself: I do not, I know I do not believe.” (Mr. Hooker’s own words follow.) “ Well then, to favour such men a little in their weakness, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it, that they adhere not to God’s promises, but are faithless, and without belief: but are they not grieved for their unbelief? They confess they are; do they not wish it might, and also strive that it may be otherwise? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a secret love and liking, that they have of those things believed? For no man can love those things which in his own opinion

“ are

" are not ; and if they think those things
" to be, which they shew they love, when
" they desire to believe them ; then must
" it be, that, by desiring to believe, they
" prove themselves true believers : for
" without faith no man thinketh that
" things believed are : which argument
" all the subtleties of infernal powers will
" never be able to dissolve." This is an
abridgment of part of the reasons Mr.
Hooker gives for his justification of this
his opinion, for which he was excepted
against by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr.
Travers, for that he in one of his sermons
had declared, " That he doubted not but
" that God was merciful to many of our
" forefathers living in Popish superstition,
" for as much as they sinned ignorantly :" and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth
it to be his judgment, and declares his
reasons for this charitable opinion to be as
followeth.

But first, he states the question about
justification and works, and how the foun-
dation of faith without works is over-

thrown ; and then he proceeds to discover that way which natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way, by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness : and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable. And these two ways he demonstrates thus : (they be his own words that follow :)
“ That, the way of nature ; this, the
“ way of grace ; the end of that way,
“ salvation merited, presupposing the
“ righteousness of men’s works ; their
“ righteousness, a natural ability to do
“ them ; that ability, the goodness of
“ God, which created them in such per-
“ fection. But the end of this way, sal-
“ vation bestowed upon men as a gift :
“ presupposing not their righteousness,
“ but the forgiveness of their unrighte-
“ ousness, justification ; their justification,
“ not their natural ability to do good,
“ but their hearty sorrow for not doing,
“ and unfeigned belief in him, for whose
“ sake not doers are accepted, which is
“ their

"their vocation; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out of the number of lost children; their election, a mediator in whom to be elected; this mediation inexplicable mercy; this mercy, supposing their misery for whom he vouchsafed to die; and make himself a mediator."

And he also declarereth, "There is no meritorious cause for our justification, but Christ; no effectual, but his mercy;" and says also, "We deny the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, disannul, and annihilate the benefit of his passion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of it." This belief, he declarereth, is to destroy the very essence of our justification; and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. "Yet nevertheless," and for this he was accused, "considering how many virtuous and just men, how many saints and martyrs have had their dangerous opinions, amongst which this was one, that they hoped to make

“ God some part of amends, by voluntary punishments which they laid upon themselves ; because by this, or the like erroneous opinions, which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall man be so bold as to write on their graves, *Such men are damned; there is for them no salvation?* St. Austin says, “ *Errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo.* And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that any man should hope to be saved ? Give me a Pope or a Cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to know himself, whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a love of Christ and his Gospel ; whose eyes are willingly open to see the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands ; and because he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, *Lord, cleanse me from all my secret sins!* Shall I think,

“ I think, because of this, or a like error,
“ such men touch not so much as the hem
“ of Christ’s garment ? If they do, where-
“ fore should I doubt, but that virtue may
“ proceed from Christ to save them ? No,
“ I will not be afraid to say to such a one,
“ You err in your opinion ; but be of
“ good comfort ; you have to do with a
“ merciful God, who will make the best
“ of that little which you hold well ; and
“ not with a captious sophister, who ga-
“ thereth the worst out of every thing in
“ which you are mistaken.”

But it will be said, says Mr. Hooker,
“ The admittance of merit in any degree
“ overthroweth the foundation, excludeth
“ from the hope of mercy, from all possi-
“ bility of salvation.” (And now Mr.
Hooker’s own words follow.)

“ What, though they hold the truth
“ sincerely in all other parts of Christian
“ faith ? although they have in some
“ measure all the virtues and graces of
“ the Spirit ? although they have all
“ other tokens of God’s children in them ?
“ although they be far from having any

“ proud opinion, that they shall be saved
“ by the worthines of their deeds? al-
“ though the only thing, that troubleth
“ and molesteth them, be a little too much
“ dejection, somewhat too great a fear
“ arising from an erroneous conceit, that
“ God will require a worthiness in them,
“ which they are grieved to find wanting
“ in themselves? although they be not
“ obstinate in this opinion? although
“ they be willing, and would be glad to
“ forsake it, if any one reason were
“ brought sufficient to disprove it? al-
“ though the only cause why they do not
“ forsake it ere they die, be their igno-
“ rance of that means by which it might
“ be disproved? although the cause why
“ the ignorance in this point is not re-
“ moved, be the want of knowledge in
“ such as should be able, and are not to
“ remove it? Let me die (says Mr. Hooker)
“ if it be ever proved, that simply an
“ error doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal
“ in such a case utterly from hope of
“ life. Surely, I must confess, that if it
“ be an error to think that God may be
“ merci-

“ merciful to save men, even when they
“ err, my greatest comfort is my error :
“ were it not for the love I bear to this
“ error, I would never wish to speak or to
“ live.”

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material ; and that, as they are thus contracted, they may prove useful to my reader ; as also for that the answers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reason, and equal charity. Other exceptions were also made against him by Mr. Tra-
vera, as “ That he prayed before, and not
“ after, his sermons ; that in his prayers
“ he named Bishops ; that he kneeled, both
“ when he prayed, and when he received
“ the Sacrament ; and (says Mr. Hooker
“ in his defence) other exceptions so like
“ these, as but to name, I should have
“ thought a greater fault than to commit
“ them.”

And it is not unworthy the noting, that, in the manage of so great a contro-
versy, a sharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy
pen

pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, "Your next argument consists of railing and of reasons: to your railing I say nothing; to your reasons I say what follows." And I am glad of this fair occasion to testify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchless man. And doubtless, if Almighty God had blest the dissenters from the ceremonies and discipline of this Church, with a like measure of wisdom and humility, instead of their pertinacious zeal, then obedience and truth had kissed each other; then peace and piety had flourished in our nation, and this Church and State had been blest like Jerusalem, *that is at unity with itself*: but this can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people of this nation with a belief, "That Schism is a sin, and they not fit to judge what is Schism;" and bless them also with a belief, "That there may be offences taken which are not given;" and, "That laws are not made for private men to dispute, but to obey."

And

And this also may be worthy of noting, that these exceptions of Mr. Travers against Mr. Hooker proved to be *felix error*, for they were the cause of his transcribing those few of his sermons, which we now see printed with his books ; and of his Answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication ; and of his most learned and useful discourse of Justification, of Faith, and Works ; and by their transcription they fell into such hands as have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings were ; and from these I have gathered many observations in this discourse of his life.

After the publication of his Answer to the Petition of Mr. Travers, Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation : but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple, that were zealous for Mr. Travers, and for his Church-discipline ; insomuch, that though Mr. Travers left the place, yet the seeds of discontent could not be rooted out of that society, by the great reason, and as great meekness, of this humble man : for though the chief

chief Benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Mr. Travers's judgment; insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief: and, that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate, sober treatise of the Church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in eight books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to shew such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason, delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it: and, that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large preface or epistle to the Dissenting Brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in holy writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer Philemon: than which none ever was more like this epistle of Mr. Hooker's. So that

that his dear friend and companion in his studies, Dr. Spener, might, after his death, justly say, "What admirable height
" of learning, and depth of judgment,
" dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly
" humble man; great in all wise men's
" eyes, except his own; with what gra-
" vity and majesty of speech his tongue
" and pen uttered heavenly mysteries;
" whose eyes, in the humility of his
" heart, were always cast down to the
" ground; how all things that proceeded
" from him were breathed as from the
" spirit of love; as if he, like the bird of
" the Holy Ghost, the dove, had wanted
" gall; let those that knew him not in
" his person, judge by these living images
" of his soul, his writings."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed; and he therefore earnestly solicited the Archbishop for a remove from that place; to whom he spake to this purpose: "My
" Lord, when I lost the freedom of my
" cell, which was my college, yet I
" found

" found some degree of it in my quiet
" country parsonage : but I am weary of
" the noise and oppositions of this place ;
" and indeed God and nature did not in-
" tend me for contentions, but for study
" and quietness. My Lord, my particular
" contests with Mr. Travers here have
" proved the more unpleasant to me, be-
" cause I believe him to be a good man ;
" and that belief hath occasioned me to
" examine mine own conscience concern-
" ing his opinions ; and, to satisfy that,
" I have consulted the Scripture, and
" other laws, both human and divine,
" whether the conscience of him, and
" others of his judgment, ought to be
" so far complied with, as to alter our
" frame of Church-government, our man-
" ner of God's worship, our praising and
" praying to him, and our established cere-
" monies, as often as his and others ten-
" der consciences shall require us. And;
" in this examination, I have not only
" satisfied myself, but have begun a trea-
" tise, in which I intend a justification
" of the laws of our ecclesiastical polity ;
" in

" in which design God and his holy an-
" gels shall at the last great day bear me
" that witness which my conscience now
" does; that my meaning is not to pro-
" voke any, but rather to satisfy all ten-
" der consciences: and I shall never be
" able to do this, but where I may study,
" and pray for God's blessing upon my
" endeavours, and keep myself in peace
" and privacy, and behold God's blessing
" spring out of my mother earth, and eat
" my own bread without oppositions; and
" therefore, if your Grace can judge me
" worthy of such a favour, let me beg it,
" that I may perfect what I have be-
" gun."

About this time the parsonage or rectory of Boscombe, in the diocese of Sarum, and six miles from that city, became void. The Bishop of Sarum is patron of it; but in the vacancy of that see, (which was three years betwixt the translation of Bishop Pierce to the see of York, and Bishop Caldwell's admission into it,) the disposal of that, and all benefices belonging to that see, during this said vacancy, came

to

to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury ; and he presented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in the said year instituted, (July 17.) to be a Minor Prebend of Salisbury, the corps to it being Nether-Having, about ten miles from that city ; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that church. In this Boscum he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and these were entered into the register-book in Stationers Hall, the 9th of March 1592, but not published till the year 1594, and then were with the before mentioned large and affectionate preface, which he directs to them that sack (as they term it) *the reformation of the laws and orders ecclesiastical in the Church of England* ; of which books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life ; (of all which more properly hereafter;) but at Boscum he finished

nished and published but only the first four, being then in the 39th year of his age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595, by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop Caldwell; and he presented Benjamin Russel, who was instituted into it the 23d of June in the same year.

The parsonage of Bishop's Borne in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that Archbishop's gift: but, in the latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman, the rector of it, was made Bishop of Norwich; by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen; and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good living of Borne, the seventh of July 1595; in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth-place, to this where he found a grave, I shall only give some account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parsonage of Borne, and

then give a rest both to myself and my reader.

His first four books and large epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boscum, anno 1594. Next, I am to tell, that at the end of these four books there was, when he first printed them, this Advertisement to the Reader :
“ I have for some causes thought it at
“ this time more fit to let go these first
“ four books by themselves, than to stay
“ both them and the rest, till the whole
“ might together be published. Such
“ generalities of the cause in question as
“ are here handled, it will be perhaps
“ not amiss to consider apart, by way
“ of introduction unto the books that
“ are to follow concerning particulars ;
“ in the mean time the reader is requested
“ to mend the Printer’s errors, as noted
“ underneath.”

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by itself, anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he chose none) the Archbishop. These books

books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself also into foreign nations. And I have been told, more than forty years past, that either Cardinal Allen, or learned Dr. Stapleton, (both Englishmen, and in Italy about the time when Hooker's four books were first printed), meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author, that both the reformed and the learned of their own Romish Church did so much magnify; and therefore caused them to be sent for to Rome: and after reading them, boasted to the Pope, (which then was Clement the Eighth,) "That though he had lately said, he never met with an English book, whose writer deserved the name of author; yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin; for a poor obscure English Priest had writ four such books of Laws, and Church-polity, and in a style that expressed such a grave and so humble a majestic, with such clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had

" not met with any that exceeded him ;" and this begot in the Pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four books, and, looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin ; which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the first book ; at the conclusion of which, the Pope spake to this purpose : " There " is no learning that this man hath not " searched into, nothing too hard for his " understanding : this man indeed de- " serves the name of an author : his books " will get reverence by age ; for there is " in them such seeds of eternity, that, if " the rest be like this, they shall last till " the last fire shall consume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his books ; for at the first coming of King James into this kingdom, he enquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker, that writ the books of Church-polity ; to which the answer was, that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow : to which the King replied,

replied, " And I receive it with no less,
" that I shall want the desired happiness
" of seeing and discoursing with that man,
" from whose books I have received such
" satisfaction: indeed, my Lord, I have
" received more satisfaction in reading a
" leaf, or paragraph, in Mr. Hooker,
" though it were but about the fashion of
" churches, or church-music, or the like,
" but especially of the Sacraments, than
" I have had in the reading particular
" large treatises written but of one of
" those subjects by others, though very
" learned men: and I observe there is in
" Mr. Hooker no affected language; but
" a grave, comprehensive, clear manifesta-
" tion of reason, and that backed with
" the authority of the Scripture, the Fa-
" thers and Schoolmen, and with all law
" both sacred and civil. And, though
" many others write well, yet in the next
" age they will be forgotten; but doubt-
" less there is in every page of Mr.
" Hooker's book the picture of a divine
" soul, such pictures of truth and reason,
" and drawn in so sacred colours, that

" they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author." And it is so truly true, that the King thought what he spake, that, as the most learned of the nation have, and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence; so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of *learned*, or *judicious*, or *reverend*, or *venerable* Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his son, our late King Charles the First, ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son, our now gracious King, to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned antiquary Mr. Camden^a, mentioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wished, " that, for the honour of this, and " benefit of other nations, they were " turned into the universal language." Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary, and forsaken it: but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and

^a In his Annals, 1599.

lately

lately finished, by the happy pen of Dr. Earl, now Lord Bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say, (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be concealed from posterity, or those that now live, and yet know him not), that, since Mr. Hooker died, none have lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper : so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself, and our venerable Richard Hooker ; and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy, in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little island.

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much ; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Borne : in which place he continued his customary rules of mortification and self-denial ; was much in fasting, frequent in meditation and prayers, enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of

strict lives feel and know, and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible ; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then or about that time made one of the Prebends of Canterbury ; a German by birth, and sometimes a pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning Episcopacy and Sacrilege ; and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren ministers of the Low Countries ; which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others ; against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts writ in Latin, especially of three ; one, of the Degrees of Ministers, and of the Bishops' superiority above the Presbytery ; a second, against Sacrilege ; and a third, of Christian Obedience to Princes ; the last being occasioned by Gretzerus the Jesuit.

Jesuit. And it is observable, that when, in a time of church-tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatise of a threefold Episcopacy, (which he calls divine, human, and satanical,) this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of Bishop Whitgift, made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that treatise as it became public; and he therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin's and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of Episcopacy. But of these tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the Church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the Archbishop; and printed about the time in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world, in the publication of his first four books of Ecclesiastical Polity.

This friendship being sought for by this learned Doctor, you may believe was not denied

denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him, as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment, in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Borne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same; and their designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the Church, still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety; which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books, and the innocence and sanctity of his life, became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man,

man, whose life and learning were so much admired : and alas ! as our Saviour said of St. John Baptist, *What went they out to see ? a man clothed in purple and fine linen ?* No, indeed ; but an obscure, harmless man ; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat ; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul : his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications ; his face full of heat-pimplies, begot by his unactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour : God and nature blessed him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance ; so neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face : and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time : and to this may be added, that though he was not

pur-

purblind, yet he was short or weak-fighted ; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended : and the reader has a liberty to believe, that his modesty and dim sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to choose his wife.

This parish-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament ; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cowper, who still lives ; and the poor clerk had many rewards for shewing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence : to all which he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness ; and in all which discourses the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning. But it so fell out, that about the said third or fourth year of the
Long

Long Parliament, the then present parson of Borne was sequestered, (you may guess why,) and a Genevian minister put into his good living. This, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, “ They had sequestered “ so many good men, that he doubted, if “ his good master Mr. Hooker had lived “ till now, they would have sequestered “ him too.”

It was not long before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the Sacrament as in Geneva ; to which end, the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or communion-table, for them to sit and eat and drink : but when they went about this work, there was a want of some joint-stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions, (but not to kneel upon.) When the clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder ; but the minister bade him “ cease wondering, and “ lock the church-door :” to whom he

re-

replied, “ Pray take you the keys, and
“ lock me out : I will never come more
“ into this church ; for all men will say,
“ my master Hooker was a good man, and
“ a good scholar ; and I am sure it was
“ not used to be thus in his days : ” and
report says the old man went presently
home, and died ; I do not say died imme-
diately, but within a few days after.

But let us leave this grateful clerk in
his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker
himself, continuing our observations of
his Christian behaviour in this place,
where he gave a holy valediction to all
the pleasures and allurements of earth ;
possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness,
which he maintained by constant study,
prayers, and meditations. His use was to
preach once every Sunday, and he or his
Curate to catechise after the second lesson
in the evening prayer. His sermons were
neither long nor earnest, but uttered with
a grave zeal, and an humble voice : his
eyes always fixed on one place, to pre-
vent his imagination from wandering ;
insomuch, that he seemed to study as he
spake.

spake. The design of his sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to shew reasons for what he spake; and with these reasons such a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade, than frighten men into piety ; studying not so much for matter, (which he never wanted), as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and subdistinctions, to amuse his hearers, and get glory to himself; but glory only to God. Which intention, he would often say, “was as discernible in a preacher, “ as a natural from an artificial beauty.”

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious Clergy, but especially the last ; saying often, “ That the “ life of a pious Clergyman was visible rhetoric, and so convincing, that “ the most godless men (though they
“ would

" would not deny themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives." And to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually every Ember-week take from the parish-clerk the key of the church-door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays, and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of procession, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish-rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and most did so: in which perambulation he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them, and all his present parishioners, to meekness, and mutual kind-

kindness and love ; because *Love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities.*

He was diligent to enquire who of his parish were sick, or any ways distressed, and would often visit them, unsent for ; supposing that the fittest time to discover to them those errors, to which health and prosperity had blinded them. And having by pious reasons and prayers moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the Communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions, and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives,

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent law-suits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, because, as St. John says, *He that lives in love, lives in God ; for God is love.* And,

to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was to *watch and pray*, and always keep themselves fit to receive the Communion, and then to receive it often ; for it was both a confirming and strengthening of their graces. This was his advice ; and at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name ; insomuch, that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did, by walking with him in all holiness and humility, making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though, in this weak and declining age of the world, such examples are become barren, and almost incredible ; yet let his memory be blest with this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker, praises God, who hath given such gifts to men ; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern, as may invite posterity to imitate these his virtues.

This

This was his constant behaviour both at Borne, and in all the places in which he lived : thus did he walk with God, and tread the footsteps of primitive piety ; and yet, as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesuſ, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, holy man. His was a flander parallel to that of chaste Susannah's by the wicked Elders ; or that against St. Athanasius, as it is recorded in his life, (for that holy man had heretical enemies,) a flander which this age calls trepanning. The particulars need not a repetition ; and that it was false, needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and their open confession of his innocence. It was said, that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother, one that endured not church-ceremonies, hating him for his book's sake, which he was not able to answer ; and his name hath been told me : but I have not so much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a scandal on him to posterity ; I

shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many months; and, being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion, as forced him to make it known to his two dearest friends, Edwyn Sandys, and George Cranmer, who were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest, till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon. To which the good man's reply was to this purpose : " The Lord for-
" give them ; and the Lord bless you for
" this comfortable news. Now I have a
" just occasion to say with Solomon,
" *Friends are born for the days of adversity;*
" and such you have proved to me. And
" to my God I say, as did the mother of
" St. John Baptist, *Tbus bath the Lord*
" *dealt*

"dealt with me, in the day wherein he
"looked upon me, to take away my reproach
"among men. And, O my God, neither
"my life, nor my reputation, are safe in
"mine own keeping; but in thine, who
"didst take care of me when I yet hanged
"upon my mother's breast. Blessed are
"they that put their trust in thee, O
"Lord: for when false witnesses were
"risen up against me; when shame was
"ready to cover my face; when my nights
"were restless; when my soul thirsted for
"a deliverance, as the hart panteth after
"the rivers of waters; then thou, Lord,
"didst hear my complaints, pity my condi-
"tion, and art now become my deliverer;
"and as long as I live I will hold up my
"hands in this manner, and magnify thy
"mercies, who didst not give me over as
"a prey to mine enemies: the net is
"broken, and they are taken in it. Oh!
"blessed are they that put their trust
"in thee. And no prosperity shall make
"me forget those days of sorrow, or
"to perform those vows that I have
"made to thee in the days of my afflic-

"tion ; for with such sacrifices, thou, O
"God, art well pleased ; and I will pay
"them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth ; and it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable ; so his christian charity ought to be imitated. For though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, revenge being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that, to prevent the excesses of it, (for men would not know moderation,) Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says, *Vengeance is mine* : and though this be said positively by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the manage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own executioner of it. And yet nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of

of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker, of whom I write: for when his slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and when that was denied him, his reply was, " That however he would fast, and pray that God would give them repentance, and patience to undergo their punishment." And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour, and an open confession. And it is observable, that after this time he would often say to Dr. Saravia, " O with what quietness did I enjoy my soul, after I was free from the fears of my slander! And how much more after a conflict and victory over my desires of revenge!"

About the year 1600, and of his age forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage by water betwixt London and Gravesend; from the malignity of which he was never recovered; for after that time, till his death, he was not free from thoughtful days and restless nights: but a submission to his will

that makes the sick man's bed easy, by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable: and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia, (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life,) " That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace;" which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the Church the benefit of them, as completed by himself; and it is thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts, and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered, the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then to have an averseness to all food, insomuch that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only.

only, and yet still studied and writ. And now his guardian angel seemed to foretel him, that the day of his dissolution drew near ; for which his vigorous soul appeared to thirst.

In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed ; of which he having notice, his question was, "Are my books and written papers safe?" And being answered, that they were ; his reply was, "Then it matters not ; for no other loss can trouble me."

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul, (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other,) came to him, and, after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the Church's absolution, it was resolved the Doctor should give him both that and the Sacrament the day following. To which end the Doctor came ; and, after a short retirement and privacy, they two returned to the company ; and then the Doctor gave him, and some of those friends which were with

with him, the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of our Jesus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long ; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible, insomuch that the Doctor apprehended death ready to seize him ; yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following ; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse ; which gave the Doctor occasion to require his present thoughts. To which he replied, “ That he was meditating the “ number and nature of angels, and their “ blessed obedience and order, without “ which, peace could not be in Heaven ; “ and oh ! that it might be so on earth ! ” After which words, he said, “ I have “ lived to see this world is made up of “ perturbations ; and I have been long “ preparing to leave it, and gathering “ comfort for the dreadful hour of mak-“ ing my account with God, which I
now

“ now apprehend to be near: and
“ though I have by his grace loved him
“ in my youth, and feared him in mine
“ age, and laboured to have a conscience
“ void of offence to him, and to all men;
“ yet if thou, O Lord, be extreme to
“ mark what I have done amiss, who can
“ abide it? And therefore, where I have
“ failed, Lord, shew mercy to me; for I
“ plead not my righteousness, but the for-
“ giveness of my unrighteousness, for his
“ merits, who died to purchase pardon for
“ penitent sinners. And since I owe thee
“ a death, Lord, let it not be terrible, and
“ then take thine own time; I submit
“ to it: let not mine, O Lord, but let
“ thy will be done.” With which expres-
sion he fell into a dangerous slumber;
dangerous as to his recovery: yet recov-
er he did, but it was to speak only these
few words: “ Good Doctor, God hath
“ heard my daily petitions, for I am at
“ peace with all men, and he is at peace
“ with me; and from that blessed assurance
“ I feel that inward joy, which this world
“ can neither give nor take from me:
“ my

" my conscience beareth me this witness,
" and this witness makes the thoughts of
" death joyful. I could wish to live to
" do the Church more service ; but cannot
" hope it, for my days are past as a sha-
" dow that returns not." More he would
have spoken, but his spirits failed him ;
and, after a short conflict betwixt nature
and death, a quiet sigh put a period to
his last breath, and so he fell asleep. And
now he seems to rest like Lazarus in
Abraham's bosom. Let me here draw his
curtain, till with the most glorious com-
pany of the Patriarchs and Apostles, the
most noble army of Martyrs and Confes-
sors, this most learned, most humble,
holy man shall also awake to receive an
eternal tranquillity, and with it a greater
degree of glory, than common Christians
shall be made partakers of.

In the mean time, *Bless, O Lord ! Lord,*
bless bis brethren, the Clergy of this nation,
with effectual endeavours to attain, if not
to bis great learning, yet to bis remarkable
meekness, bis godly simplicity, and bis Chris-
tian moderation ; for these will bring peace

at

at the last. And, Lord, let his most excellent writings be blest with what he designed, when he undertook them: which was, glory to thee, O God on high, peace in thy Church, and good will to mankind. Amen, Amen,

IZAAK WALTON.

This

*This following Epitaph was long since presented to
the world, in memory of Mr. HOOKER, by Sir
WILLIAM COWPER, who also built him a fair
monument in Borne Church, and acknowledges
him to have been his spiritual Father.*

THOUGH nothing can be spoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious HOOKER; though this cost be spent
On him, that hath a lasting monument
In his own books; yet ought we to express,
If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.
Church-ceremonies he maintain'd; then why.
Without all ceremony should he die?
Was it because his life and death should be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all, to ask, why had he none?
Yet he, that lay so long obscurely low,
Doth now preferr'd to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise,
Humility is the true way to rise:
And God in me this lesson did inspire,
To bid this humble man, "Friend, sit up higher."

AN
APPENDIX

TO

THE LIFE

OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

AND now having by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and I hope my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life; I am desirous also to acquaint him with some observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his death, of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And first, it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-seventh, if not in the forty-sixth year of his age; which I mention, because many have believed him to be more aged: but I have so examined it,

it, as to be confident I mistake not ; and for the year of his death, Mr. Camden, who in his *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, 1599, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599 ; and yet in that inscription of his monument, set up at the charge of Sir William Cowper, in Borne Church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is there said to be in anno 1603 ; but doubtless both mistaken ; for I have it attested under the hand of William Somner, the Archbishop's Register for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date October 26, in anno 1600, and that it was proved the third of December following^a.

* And the reader may take notice, that since I first writ this Appendix to the Life of Mr. Hooker, Mr. Fulman, of Corpus Christi College, hath shewed me a good authority for the very day and hour of Mr. Hooker's death, in one of his books of Polity, which had been Archbishop Laud's. In which book, beside many considerable marginal notes of some passages of his time, under the Bishop's own hand, there is also written in the title-page of that book (which now is Mr. Fulman's) this attestation :

"Richardus

And that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicily, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them an hundred pound; that he left Joan, his wife, his sole executrix; and that, by his inventory, his estate (a great part of it being in books) came to 1092l. 9s. 2d. which was much more than he thought himself worth; and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant, Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in keeping of it. Of which will of Mr. Hooker's I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer, (of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more,) was one of the witnesses to it.

One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a school-mas-

“Richardus Hooker vir summis doctrinæ dotibus prænatus, de Ecclesia præcipue Anglicana optime meritus,
“ obiit Novemb. 2. circiter horam secundam postmeridiā
“ nam, Anno 1600.”

ter in Chichester, and are both dead long since. Margaret, his youngest daughter, was married unto Ezekiel Charke, Bachelor in Divinity, and Rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, who died about fifteen years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living, and in sacred orders, being at this time Rector of Waldron in Sussex. She left also a daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not; but very far from abounding. And these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker, their grandfather, had a sister, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of 121 years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For his other two daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable. And for his wife, she was so unlike Jephtha's daughter, that she staid not a comely time to bewail her widowhood; nor lived long enough to repent her second marriage; for which, doubtless, she would have found

found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his estate; his wife, and his children. I am next to speak of his books; concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither do right to myself, or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed eight books, and that his first four were printed anno 1594, and his fifth book first printed, and alone, anno 1597; and that he lived to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight: but whether we have the last three as finished by himself, is a just and material question; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost forty years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker and the affairs of his family, that, about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Bishop Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, sent

one of his Chaplains to enquire of Mrs. Hooker, for the three remaining books of Polity, writ by her husband : of which she would not, or could not, give any account : and that about three months after that time the Bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined by some of her Majesty's Council, concerning the disposal of those books : but, by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the Bishop invited her to Lambeth, and, after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, "that one Mr. Charke, and another Minister that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's study, and look upon some of his writings : and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, abusing her, that they were writings not fit to be seen ; and that she knew nothing more concerning them." Her lodging was then in King-street in Westminster, where she was found next morning dead:

in

in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it: but he was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer, (mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker,) who was of Mr. Hooker's college, and of his time there, and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned these books of Polity--this Dr. Spencer, the three perfect books being lost, had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop Whitgift) the imperfect books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's hand-writing, and was best acquainted with his intentions. And a fair testimony of this may appear by an epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books, (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in anno 1662, in which the publishers seem to impose the three doubtful books to be the undoubted books of Mr.

Hooker,) with these two letters J. S. at the end of the said epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer: in which epistle the reader may find these words, which may give some authority to what I have here written of his last three books.

“ And though Mr. Hooker hastened his
“ own death by hastening to give life to
“ his books, yet he held out with his
“ eyes to behold these Benjamins, these
“ sons of his right hand, though to him
“ they proved Benonies, sons of pain and
“ sorrow. But some evil disposed minds,
“ whether of malice, or covetousness, or
“ wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as
“ soon as they were born, and their
“ father dead, smothered them, and, by
“ conveying the perfect copies, left unto
“ us nothing but the old imperfect man-
“ gled draughts dismembered into pieces;
“ no favour, no grace, not the shadow of
“ themselves remaining in them. Had
“ the father lived to behold them thus de-
“ faced, he might rightly have named
“ them Benonies, the sons of sorrow:
“ but being the learned will not suffer
“ them

" them to die and be buried, it is intended
 " the world shall see them as they are ;
 " the learned will find in them some sha-
 " dows and resemblances of their father's
 " face. God grant, that as they were
 " with their brethren dedicated to the
 " Church for messengers of peace ; so, in
 " the strength of that little breath of life
 " that remaineth in them, they may pro-
 " sper in their work, and, by satisfying the
 " doubts of such as are willing to learn,
 " they may help to give an end to the
 " calamities of these our civil wars."

J. S.

And next the reader may note, that
 this Epistle of Dr. Spencer's was writ
 and first printed within four years after
 the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time
 all diligent search had been made for the
 perfect copies ; and then granted not re-
 coverable, and therefore endeavoured to
 be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough
 draughts, as is expressed by the said Dr.
 Spencer in the said Epistle, since whose
 death it is now fifty years.

A a 4

And

And I do profess by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencer's wife (who was my aunt, and sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken) told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose : " That her husband had made up or finished Mr. Hooker's last three books ; and that upon her husband's death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge they should not be seen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King, then Bishop of London, and that she did as he enjoined her."

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's, and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts ; and I know that these were to be found in several places ; as namely, Sir Thomas Bodley's Library ; in that of Dr. Andrews, late Bishop of Winton ; in the late Lord Conway's ; in the Archbishop of Canterbury's ; and in the Bishop of Armagh's ; and in many others : and most of these pretended to be the Author's own hand,

hand, but much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminished, as men have thought fitteſt to make Mr. Hooker's judgment ſuit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt deſigns; and for proof of a part of this, take these following teſtimonies.

Dr. Barnard, ſometime Chaplain to Dr. Uſher, late Lord Archbiſhop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book, called *Clavi Trabales*, printed by Richard Hodgkinſon, anno 1661, that, in his ſearch and examination of the ſaid Biſhop's manuſcripts, he found the three written books which were ſuppoſed the fifth, ſecond, and eighth of Mr. Hooker's books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity; and that in the ſaid three books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's) there are ſo many omissions, that they amount to many paragraphs, and which cause many incoherencies: the omissions are by him ſet down at large in the ſaid printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to iſert this following ſhort part of ſome of the ſaid omissions.

“ First,

“ First, as there could be in natural
“ bodies no motion of any thing, unless
“ there were some first which moved all
“ things, and continued unmoveable ;
“ even so in politic societies there must
“ be some unpunishable, or else no man
“ shall suffer punishment : for sith pu-
“ nishments proceed always from supe-
“ riors, to whom the administration of
“ justice belongeth ; which administration
“ must have necessarily a fountain, that
“ deriveth it to all others, and receiveth ..
“ not from any, because otherwise the
“ course of justice should go infinitely in
“ a circle, every superior having his supe-
“ rior without end, which cannot be :
“ therefore a well-spring, it followeth,
“ there is, a supreme head of justice,
“ whereunto all are subject, but itself in
“ subjection to none. Which kind of pre-
“ eminency if some ought to have in a
“ kingdom, who but the King shall have
“ it ? Kings therefore, or no man, can
“ have lawful power to judge.

“ If private men offend, there is the
“ magistrate over them, which judgeth ;
“ if

" if magistrates, they have their prince ;
 " if princes, there is Heaven, a tribunal,
 " before which they shall appear ; on
 " earth they are not accountable to any."

Here, says the Dr. it breaks off abruptly.

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips, a man of note for his useful books. " I will make oath, if I shall be required, that Dr. Sanderson, the late Bishop of Lincoln, did a little before his death affirm to me, he had seen a manuscript affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the King or supreme governor's being accountable to the people. This I will make oath, that that good man attested to me."

FABIAN PHILIPS.

So that there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books ; and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned Bishop, (whose writings are so highly and justly valued,) gave a strict charge

change near the time of his death, or in his last will, " That nothing of his that " was not already printed, should be " printed after his death."

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker; and known also that our late King Charles (the martyr for the Church) valued them the second of all books, testified by his commanding them to the reading of his son Charles, that now is our gracious King: and you may suppose that this Charles the First was not a stranger to the pretended three books, because, in a discourse with the Lord Say, in the time of the Long Parliament, when the said Lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker, (quoting him in one of the three written books,) the King replied, " They were not al-
" lowed to be Mr. Hooker's books; but,
" however, he would allow them to be
" Mr. Hooker's, and consent to what his
" Lordship propos'd to prove out of those
" doubtful books, if he would but consent
" to

" to the judgment of Mr. Hooker in the
" other five, that were the undoubted
" books of Mr. Hooker."

In this relation concerning these three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker's, my purpose was to enquire, then set down what I observed and know; which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now leave my reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to himself; but so as to leave others the same liberty of believing, or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's: and it is observable, that as Mr. Hooker advised with Dr. Spencer, in the design and manage of these books; so also, and chiefly, with his dear pupil, George Cranmer, (whose sister was the wife of Dr. Spencer,) of which this following letter may be a testimony, and doth also give authority to some things mentioned both in this Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. Hooker, and is therefore added.

J. W.

GEORGE CRANMER'S LETTER

UNTO

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

FEB. 1598.

WHAT posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning Church-discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered, that at first the greatest part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way. The books then written for the most part favoured of the disciplinary style; it sounded every where in pulpits, and in common phrase of men's speech. The contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course; many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it,

it, not as not being the better form of government, but as not being so convenient for our state, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby like to grow : * one man alone there was to speak of, (whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation,) who, in the defiance of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence, which, by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries, had otherwise been prevented, wherein God hath made good unto him his own impress, *Vincit qui patitur* : for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness ; and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the discipline is greatly decayed ; their judgments begin to sway on the other side : the learned have weighed

* John Whitgift, the Archbishop.

it,

it, and found it light : wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of government, but the very bane and destruction of all government. The cause of this change in men's opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, disguised and clothed with the name of truth ; which did mightily and violently possess men at first, but afterwards, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, it lost that reputation, which before it had gained. As by the outside of an house the passers by are oftentimes deceived, till they see the convenience of the rooms within ; so, by the very name of discipline and reformation, men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed house ; they have entered in, even at the special request of master-workmen and chief-builders thereof : they have perused the rooms, the lights, the conveniences, and they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them,

them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived : so as now the discipline, which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop, and hang down her head.

The cause of change in opinion concerning the discipline is proper to the learned, or to such as by them have been instructed. Another cause there is more open, and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of practice, which the reformers have had with us from the beginning. The first degree was only some small difference about the cap and surplice ; but not such as either bred division in the Church, or tended to the ruin of the government established. This was peaceable ; the next degree more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the Parliament in peremptory sort against our whole form of regiment. In defence of them, ~~voluntaries~~ were published in English and in Latin : yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to erect the practice of the discipline without authority ; yet herein some regard of mo-

defty, some moderation was used. Behold at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by Martin; in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed: 1. That whereas T. C. and others his great masters had always before set out the discipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God; he contrariwise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a vice upon the stage. 2. This conceit of his was grounded (as may be supposed) upon this rare policy, that seeing the discipline was by writing refuted, in parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and decried, it was imagined that by open railing, (which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible,) the State Ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all men, and in a manner desired by all the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this I know myself to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an action, yet
were

were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause, by acknowledging therein the secret judgments of God against the Bishops, and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his Church; as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For, 4thly, contrary to their expectation, that railing spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction, at first, to what outrage of contumely and slander they were at length proceeded; and were also likely to proceed further.

A further degree of outrage was also in fact: certain ² prophets did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that to be undone, which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely, that his holy saints, the favourers and fathers of the discipline, should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and see-

* Hacket and Coppinger.

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ing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means; and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope, that, upon their preaching out of a pease-cart in Cheapside, all the multitude would have presently joined unto them, and in amazement of mind have asked them, *Viri fratres, quid agimus?* whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter: “ Such and such are men unworthy to govern ; pluck them down : “ such and such are the dear children of “ God ; let them be advanced.”

Of two of these men it is meet to speak with all commiseration : yet so, that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear, what stirring affections the discipline is like to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

Now if any man doubt of what society
they

they were ; or if the reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned; let these points be considered. 1. Whose associates were they before they entered into this frantic passion ? whose sermons did they frequent ? whom did they admire ? 2. Even when they were entering into it, whose advice did they require ? and when they were in, whose approbation ? whom advertised they of their purpose ? whose assistance by prayer did they request ? But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge ; for they reproved and condemned it. How ? did they disclose it to the magistrate, that it might be suppressed ? or were they not rather content to stand aloof of, and see the end of it, as being loath to quench that spirit ? No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness, they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book.

A third inducement may be to dislike of the discipline, if we consider not only how far the reformers themselves have

proceeded, but what others upon their foundations have built. Here come the Brownists in the first rank, their lineal descendants, who have seized upon a number of strange opinions; whereof although their ancestors, the reformers, were never actually possessed, yet, by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists and Barrowists have taken possession of them: for if the positions of the reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false; for upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand.

1. That, because we have no Church, they are to sever themselves from us.
2. That without civil authority they are to erect a Church of their own. And if the former of these be true, the latter, I suppose, will follow: for if above all things men be to regard their salvation; and if out of the Church there be no salvation; it followeth, that, if we have no Church, we have no means of salvation; and therefore separation from us in that respect is both lawful and necessary:

fary'; as also, that men, so separated from the false and counterfeit Church, are to associate themselves unto some Church; not to ours; to the Popish much less; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these inferences being this, "That in our Church there is no means of salvation," is ~~out~~ of the reformers' principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter of faith unto salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of salvation; but in the Church of England, the discipline, by them accounted a matter of faith, and necessary to salvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the professors thereof oppressed. *Ergo.*

Again, (but this reason perhaps is weak,) every true Church of Christ acknowledgeth the whole Gospel of Christ: the discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the Gospel, and yet by our Church resisted. *Ergo.*

Again, the discipline is essentially united to the Church: by which term *essentially*, they must mean either an essen-

tial part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, that where that essential discipline is not, neither is there any Church. If therefore between them and the Brownists there should be appointed a solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers; it doth not yet appear what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like arguments, wherewith they may be pressed, but fairly to deny the conclusion, (for all the premises are their own,) or rather ingeniously to reverse their own principles before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built. What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the discipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but, above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly enforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others (for aught I see) the most unanswerable. You may notwithstanding say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might be salved, as the Brownists might not appear

pear to have issued out of their loins : but until that be done, they must give us leave to think that *they have cast the seed wherout these tares are grown.*

Another sort of men there are, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of godless politics, who, perceiving the plot of discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of episcopal, and erection of presbyterial authority ; and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed ; are content to join with them in the destructive part of discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These men's ends in all their actions is distraction ; their pretence and colour, reformation. Those things which under this colour they have effected to their own

own good, are, 1. by maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the Clergy always in awe, and thereby made them more pliable, and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among Ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring cathedral churches, and Bishops' livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the Church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the civil State more covertly. For such is the nature of the multitude, that they are not able to apprehend many things at once; so as being possessed with a dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the mean time may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the Clergy, in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, "That men of learning, and specially of the Clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted, to matters of State;"

“ State ;” contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

A third sort of men there are, though not descended from the reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them ; namely, *the cursed crew of Atheists*. This also is one of those points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection ; as in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the fifth book, yet here again they may be touched : but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two ; namely, *senseless preaching*, and *disgracing of the ministry* : for how should not men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of reason, nor by authority of persons, is main-

maintained? But in the parties themselves these two causes I conceive of atheism: 1. More abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning; whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth. They are not therefore men of sound learning for the most part, but smatterers; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument, as by scoffing; which humour of scoffing, and turning matters most serious into merriment, is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the Prophet means by the *seat of scorners*, nor what the Apostles, by foretelling of *scorners to come*; for our own age hath verified their speech unto us: which also may be an argument against these scoffers and atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the latter days of the world should afford: which could not be done by any other spirit, save that whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the resurrection, whereat they

they stick so mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, *Where is the promise of his coming?* Against the creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken, the ground whereof is superfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment. A second cause of atheism is *sensuality*, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life; among which because religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true) without torment in the life to come; they therefore whet their wits to annihilate the joys of heaven, wherein they see (if any such be) they can have no part, and likewise the pains of hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labour therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that, deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them. But what conceit can be imagined more base, than that man should strive to persuade himself even against the

the secret instinct, no doubt, of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal, and corruptible with the body? Against which barbarous opinion their own atheism is a very strong argument. For were not the soul a nature separable from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul were not able to conceive any thing of Heaven, no not so much as to dispute against Heaven, and against God, if there were not in it somewhat heavenly, and derived from God.

The last which have received strength and encouragement from the reformers are Papists; against whom although they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather desire than the breach and dissension of those which are confederates against him? Wherein they are to remember, that if our communion with Papists in some few ceremonies do so much strengthen them, as is pretended, how much more doth this

this division and rent among ourselves, especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matter of faith and salvation ! Which ever-reaching speech of theirs, because it is so open an advantage for the Barrowite and the Papist, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment ; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of discipline which themselves have bred, nourished, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did so often overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connection I leave to yourself) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large ; the parts whereof may be these : 1. That, in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points and controversy from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two : overthrow of episcopal, and erection
of

of presbyterial authority. But in these two points whosoever joineth with them is accounted of their number ; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of Bishops not unlawful, and of Elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their retinue. Those things therefore, which either in the persons, or in the laws and orders themselves, are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged, and amended ; yet they no wit the nearer their main purpose : for what if all errors by them supposed in our Liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts desire ; if non-residence, pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away ; are their layelders therefore presently authorized ? or their sovereign ecclesiastical jurisdiction established ?

But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in Church-government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end, which they propose to themselves. For in declaiming against abuses, their meaning is not to have

have them redressed, but by disgracing the present state, to make way for their own discipline. As therefore in Venice, if any senator should discourse against the power of their senate, as being either too sovereign, or too weak in government, with purpose to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another state by depraving the present. So in all causes belonging either to Church or Commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or innovation; and accordingly either to suffer or suppress it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, *Why may not men speak against abuses?* Yes; but with desire to cure the part affected, not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their manner of complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also it is to the common people, who are judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing

amisa, and for want of skill and authority to amend it. Which also discovereth their intent and purpose to be rather destructive than corrective. 3. Thirdly, Those very exceptions which they take are frivolous and impertinent. Some things indeed they accuse as impious; which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

Against the rest it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised. Wherein they are doubly deceived: for neither is it a sufficient plea to say, this must give place, because a better may be devised; because in our judgments of better and worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in devise with those which are in practice: for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be discovered: the others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all, (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarged,) they

they do not see that for the most part when they strike at the state Ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the Civil state : for personal faults, what can be said against the Church, which may not also agree to the Commonwealth ? In both, statesmen have always been, and will be always, men ; sometimes blinded with error, most commonly perverted by passions : many unworthy have been and are advanced in both ; many worthy not regarded. And as for abuses, which they pretend to be in the laws themselves ; when they inveigh against non-residence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the Civil state, for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, himself continually remaining in the south ? He that hath an office, let him attend his office. When they condemn plurality of livings spiritual to the pit of hell, what think they of the infinity of temporal promotions ? By the great philosopher, *Pol. lib. ii. cap. 9*, it is forbidden as a thing most dangerous to commonwealths, that by the same man many great

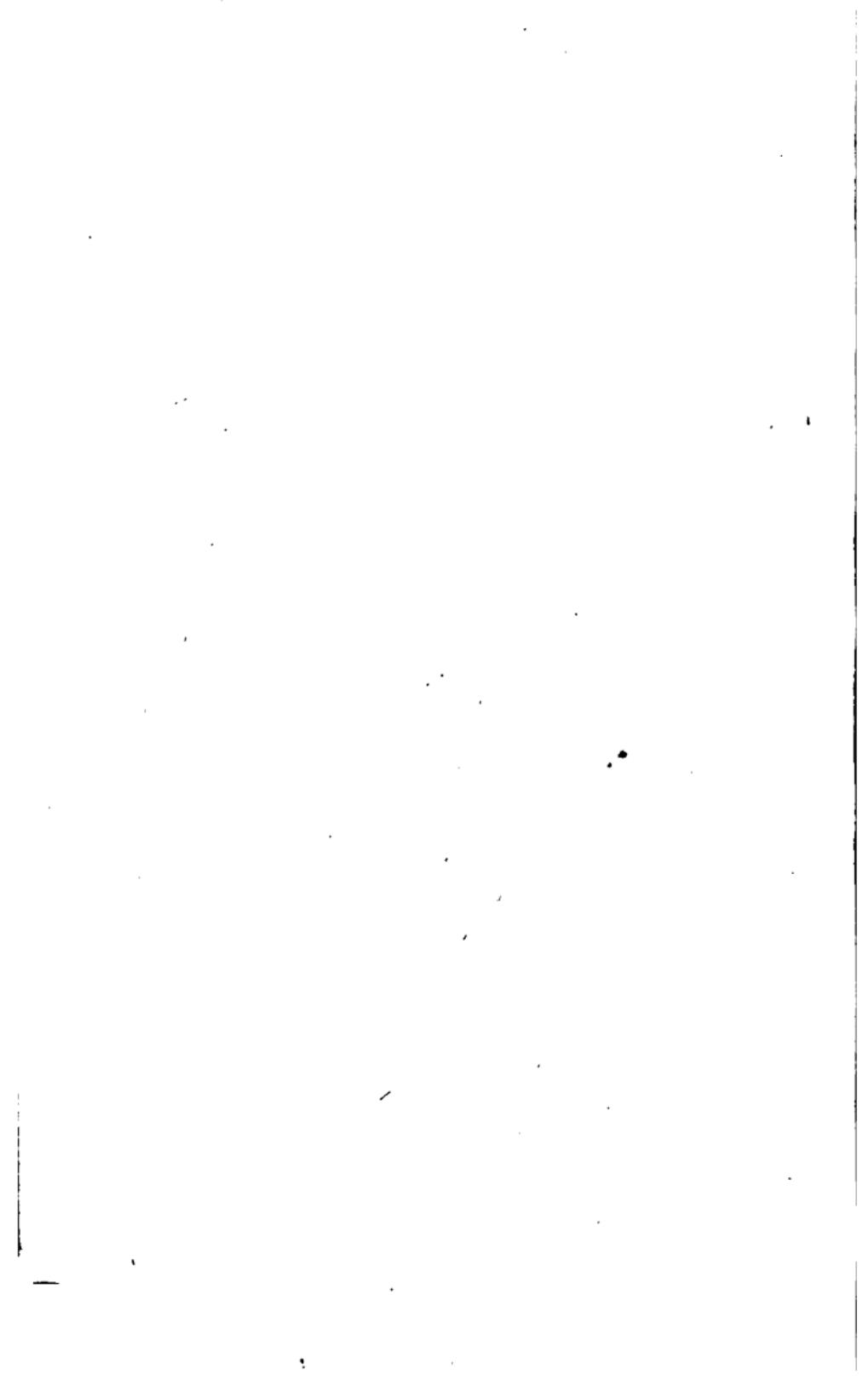
great offices should be exercised. When they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions even to those civil ceremonies, which at the coronation, in Parliament, and all courts of justice, are used ? Were it hard to argue even against circumcision, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony ? against the passover, as being ridiculous—shod, girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb ?

To conclude : you may exhort the Clergy, (or what if you direct your conclusion not to the Clergy in general, but only to the learned in or of both Universities ?) you may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand. For it oftentimes falleth out, that what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and the excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest labour of a Christian should be to know ; of a minister, to preach Christ crucified : in regard whereof, not only

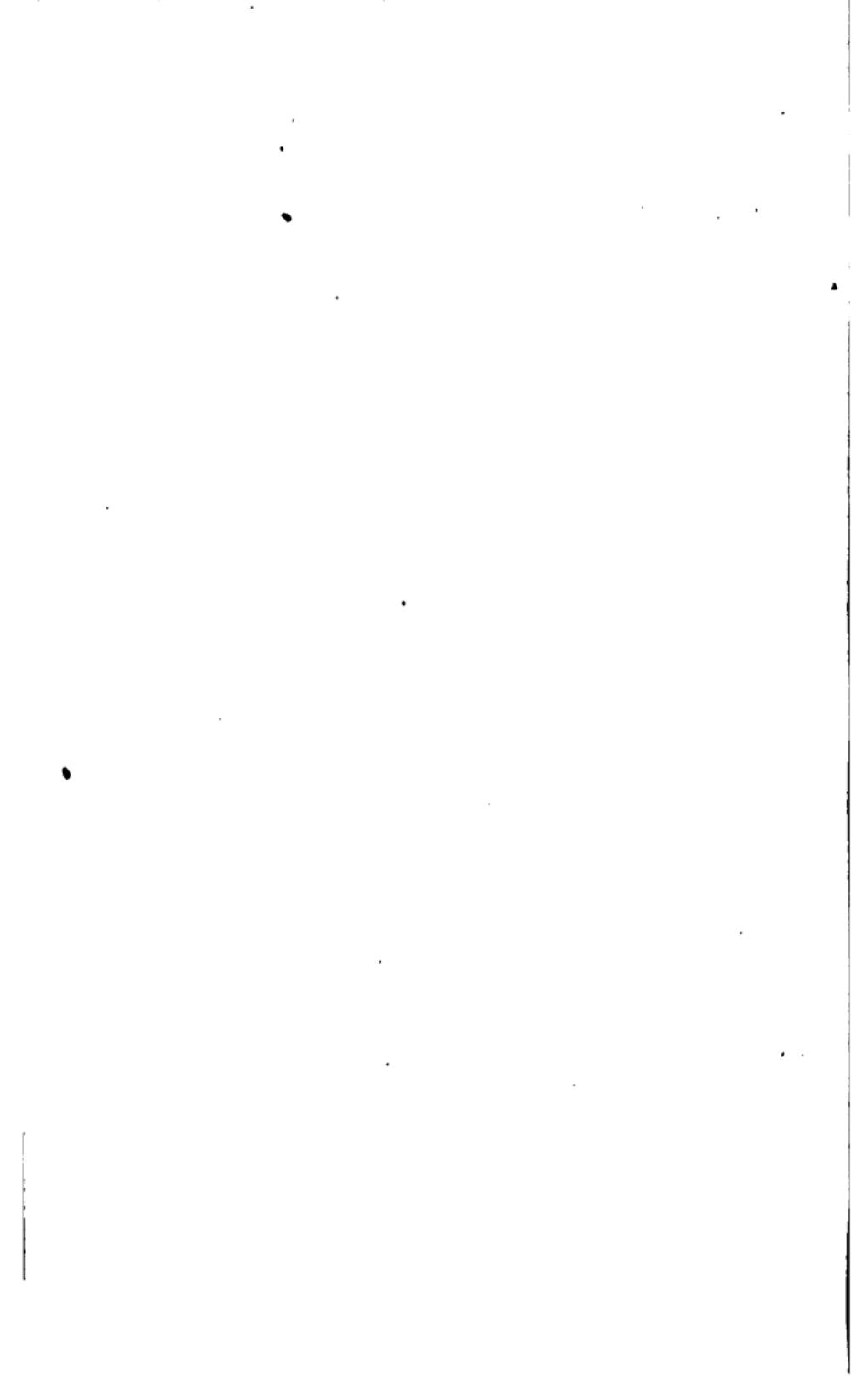
only worldly things, but things otherwise precious, even the discipline itself is vile and base. Whereas now, by the heat of contention, and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted to *preach Christ crucified, the mortification of the flesh, the renewing of the Spirit*; not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but (passions being allayed) are vain and childish.

G. C.

THE END OF VOL. I.

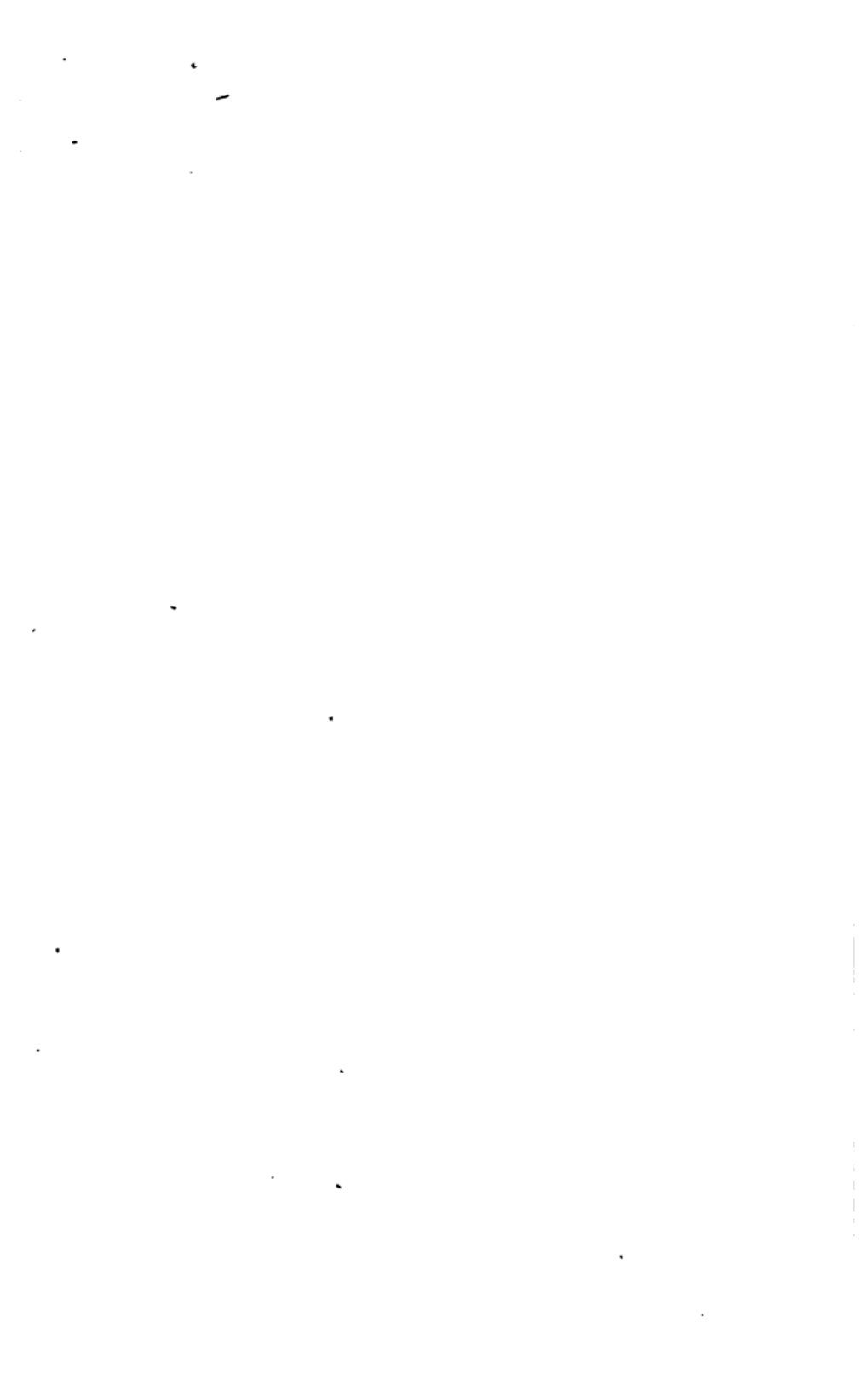












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